

CONFLICT IN PALESTINE

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Date:....21./10./2003.....

Abstract

The research question this study aims to answer is why Palestinians use tactics such as suicide bombings as a strategy of warfare against the Israelis. Four themes were discussed in order to find an answer to the research question. The four themes were the history of Palestine/Israel, unconventional warfare, Jerusalem and the peace processes over the past decades since independence. I used the case study method in my research design in order to study the immense amount of information available. I studied one case over duration of time, starting from the first arrival of people on the land of Canaan (later to be known as Palestine).

My data resources consisted mainly of secondary material. This included books written on the subject as well as other written documents in journals, magazines and articles from the Internet.

The theory I based my study on was Samuel P Huntington's (1993) theory on "the clash of civilizations". He states that in the future wars will not be between nation states but rather between civilizations. This theory has significant relevance to the situation in Palestine/Israel.

I found that the four themes I discussed all played a major role in the reason for the Palestinians actions. Each theme delivered relevant findings that can be used to clarify the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. The history of Israel has to do with the issue of ownership, Jerusalem plays a prominent role in each party's religion, the warfare tactics the Palestinians use has a relevance to their success in spreading terror and the peace processes highlight the issues these two parties are unwilling to compromise on.

This study shows that there are a lot of different factors involved in the conflict in Palestine. There are different facets that play a role in the fight for an independent Palestinian state. Israel, the other party involved, differs on each of these facets. A

common ground needs to be established and sacrifices on each side need to be made in order for peace in the area.

Opsomming

Die navorsingsvraag wat hierdie studie poog om te beantwoord is waarom Palestyne selfmoord aanvalle as 'n oorlogstaktiek gebruik teen die burgers van Israel. Vier temas was bespreek om 'n antwoord te vind op die navorsingsvraag. Hierdie vier temas sluit die volgende in; die geskiedenis van Palestina/Israel, onkonvensionele oorlog, Jerusalem en die vredesprosesse oor die afgelope paar dekades vanaf die onafhanklikheid van Israel. Die Gevalle – Studie metode was gebruik in die navorsingsontwerp om die groot hoeveelheid informasie beskikbaar, te bestudeer. Hier word een geval bestudeer oor 'n tydperk. My studie tydperk het begin vanaf die aankoms van mense na die land van Kanaan (later as bekend as Palestina).

My databronne het meestal bestaan uit sekondêre materiaal. Hierby ingesluit was boeke wat handel oor die onderwerp, sowel as ander geskrewe dokumente in joernale, tydskrifte en artikels vanaf die Internet.

Die teorie waarop my studie gebaseer is, is die teorie oor beskawingskonflikte van Samuel P Huntington (1993). Hy stel dat die oorloë in die toekoms nie tussen nasie state gaan plaasvind nie, maar eerder tussen beskawings. Hierdie teorie het opsigtelike betrekking tot die situasie in Palestina/Israel.

Ek het bevind dat die vier temas wat ek bespreek het, almal 'n merkwaardige rol speel in die Palestyne se optrede. Elke tema het relevante punte wat toepaslik is in die Palestynse/Israelse situasie. Die geskiedenis van Israel het te make met eindomsreg, Jerusalem speel 'n prominente rol in elkeen se godsdiens, die oorlogtaktieke wat die Palestyne gebruik, dra by tot hul sukses om vrees te saai onder die Israeli's en die vredes prosesse lig die sake uit waarop beide partye nie bereid is om te onderhandel nie.

Hierdie studie wys dat daar verskeie verskillende faktore betrokke is by die konflik in Palestina. Daar is verskeie fasette wat 'n rol speel in die stryd vir 'n onafhanklike Palestynse staat. Maar, Israel en die ander party betrokke, verskil op elkeen van hierdie

fasette. Dit is nodig om 'n gemeenskaplike basis te stig tussen die twee betokke partye. Dit is ook nodig dat beide opofferings maak sodat daar vrede kan wees in die streek.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“In the Middle East, we will continue to seek peace between a secure Israel and a democratic Palestine”. (Time; 2003:47)

1.1 Introduction

The above was the only mention of the conflict in the Middle East by President Bush in his state of the union address in 2003. This foreign policy dilemma has not received much attention in the United States up to 2003 and not much has been done to solve the problem. This is understandable. Since the US focused on the war effort (2003) it launched its attack on Iraq against the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein was suspected of constructing weapons for use in nuclear and biological warfare. In the meantime the conflict in the Middle East had not subsided and it grew more violent and destructive with every passing week since the beginning of the *Intifadeh* in 2000.

The most troubling issue for the Israelis and the rest of the world (mostly the West), is the suicide bombers and their attacks on civilians in Israel and mostly on Jewish settlements. The thought of not being able to control these attacks is enough to make anyone anxious and terrified. These suicide attacks have increased significantly during the past few years since the beginning of the *Intifadeh* in 2000. When looking at 2002, we find that there were 22 incidents recorded. 2003 has seen an attack in Tel Aviv and another incident where a bus full of Jewish civilians was blown up by a suicide attacker. The Israeli army retaliated by attacking Arab settlements, in an attempt to eliminate the terrorist groups together with their leaders. It is, therefore, inevitable that Arab civilians would also come under attack.

The conflict in the past was usually between the Israeli military and extreme Palestine terrorist groups, but it seems as if, increasingly, mothers and daughters becoming also involved in the “war” for self-recognition of the Palestine State.

1.2 Research Question

The political problem is that there are suicide bombers who conduct acts of terrorism to reach their objectives. The problem I wish to address, thus the research problem, is what incentive do Palestinians, among them housewives and young single women, have to tie bombs around their waists and to walk into public places such as supermarkets and blow themselves up. This is done in the hope of killing or wounding a few Israeli's. The Palestinians are using suicide bombers to spread terror in civilian (mainly Jewish) sites (e.g. shopping malls, busses, universities and restaurants). Palestinians, have in the past, used terrorism to halt the immigration of Jews into Palestine from around the world, especially Europe, during the Second World War. This was their weapon against Jewish domination. The terrorist attacks are still one of their major unconventional warfare strategies. The Israeli state, then responded by attacking Arab settlements with military force. This created a vicious cycle of retaliation and more bloodshed.

The research question is thus to find the reason behind the conflict and hate. Why would the Palestinians/Arabs be so desperate to kill themselves in order to spread terror among the Jews/Israelis?

1.3 Research Objectives

To answer the research question of why Palestinians become suicide bombers four topics will be discussed.

First the study will try to answer the above question by looking at where this conflict originated and ends. One part of the answer may be found in the past. By looking at the past and the beliefs of these people, Jew and Muslim, one can come to appreciate an understanding of the desperate attempts made by the Palestinians. Terrorism used by Palestinians, show the hopelessness they feel in their situation. Why do they feel this way? What do they aspire to?

This will mean that the study will originate from the biblical times. This is where the conflict between the Jews and Palestinians were first recorded. The situations and

conditions of each of the two civilizations will be explored, in order to find answers as to why the Palestinians have become suicide bombers, in order to seemingly achieve their goals.

David Ben-Gurion said in one of his many speeches that the Jews do not ask for the land of Israel for the sake of ruling over Arabs, or to seek a market to sell Jewish goods produced in the Diaspora, but rather to have a homeland so that they can cast off the curse of exile and attach themselves to the soil - that source of quickening, creativeness and health - and renew their native life (Ben-Gurion, 1959:4).

When looking at the past we see that the Jews had many struggles to establish themselves on the land that has been promised for them by their God. The Arabs also went through a lot of hardships to win back their land and to eradicate the Jews from it. Looking at these incidents one can relate to why the fighting still continues to this day.

The second objective, hoping to be achieved, in this study is looking at the kind of warfare the Palestinians are using against the Israeli militants and how this has an influence on their objectives. By exploring this issue one can come closer to understanding the type of warfare the Palestinians engage in. Terrorism is the Palestinians' main military warfare strategy. In this chapter, the research question investigating why Palestinians become suicide bombers, the military aspect, will be under scrutiny. The history of the PLO is of cardinal importance in the study of Palestinian warfare, since terrorism and suicide bombings were their trademark military tactics. The question of why the Palestinians used terrorism, and thus suicide bombings, and did not engage in conventional warfare, will feature in this chapter. It is found that the Arabs are using unconventional warfare, like terrorism and other primitive weapons in the conflict against the Israeli Army, which is in possession of tanks and machine guns. The situation thus, we find the state (Israel) against an ethnic unofficial state (Palestinian territories). It is a situation of the PLA (Palestinian Liberation Army) vs. the Israeli Defense Force.

Thirdly, the case of Jerusalem will be discussed. Here the religious aspect of each group will come into play. The way in which the Palestinians engage in warfare has a

lot to do with their religion. Jerusalem is the epiphany of religion for Palestinians in Israel and Israelis also cherish Jerusalem. This is because of the holy sites to be found there and the history that accompanies it. Both the Palestinians and Jews ascribe significant meaning to Jerusalem and they therefore are not willing to compromise on the issue of ownership of the City.

The past has delivered many attempts for peace in the region. What are the core issues that the Palestinians and Israeli's negotiate on? Why did these attempts at peace fail in the past? It seems as if the peace agreements lead to renewed violence and continued suicide bombings. There seem to be several issues that the two sides are not willing to negotiate on. There were also times when neither of the two civilizations could hold to the agreements. The last chapter will explore these pressing issues.

1.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter two, will present a historical overview of Israel and the establishment of the state. This will give the reader a better understanding of the background of each of the two civilizations in Palestine. How they came to be there and why each feels they have more right to ownership of the land.

The issue of unconventional warfare will be addressed in the third chapter, where the Palestine situation will be discussed within a framework, namely that of unconventional warfare.

The fourth chapter will look at the issue of Jerusalem. This city has caused a lot of conflict between the two ethnic groups. Jerusalem is definitely one of the core issues. The struggle continues and neither the Jews nor the Palestinians are prepared to share it with the other. Looking at the historical and religious significance each assigns to this city and its holy sites, like the *Western Wall/Wailing Wall* under the *Temple Mount* and the *Dome of the Rock*, one can see why they are so reluctant to compromise on the status of ownership. The significance each has for the city will bring forth the reason for the dispute. Looking at the history of the city one can determine when the dispute took effect and when this issue did in fact become an issue of conflict.

The fifth chapter will discuss the various peace agreements that had been initiated in the past century when the Jewish state, Israel, had been established. By having an overview of the different peace treaties, like the well-known Oslo accords and the Camp David negotiations, a pattern can be established of issues the two sides are willing to negotiate on and issues they are not willing to discuss. The overview will enable an attempt at determining a reason for the failure of these peace settlements.

By the end of the study I hope to highlight the dominant conclusions and causes of the problem, as to why Palestinians become suicide bombers to obtain their goals. This will render the reader with a better understanding of the relevant issues that influence the respective civilizations' decisions to engage in this type of warfare tactics.

1.5 Research Design

1.5.1 Case Studies

The form this study is going to take, is called *Case Study research*. This type of research is used to examine features on many people or units, either at one time period or across time periods. In *Case - Study research*, the researcher examines, in depth, many features of one case over duration of time. Case study uses the logic of analytic instead of enumerative induction. Here the researcher selects one or a few key cases to illustrate an issue and analytically study it (or them) in detail (Neuman; 2000:32).

In the case of Palestine this type of research is ideal. Not only can one study the past and compare it with the situation today, but one can also make predictions based on the past. By looking at the history one can analytically study the details in terms of each of these two civilizations. Their religion, culture, beliefs and attitudes can be determined by looking at their past and how that had an influence on their present actions. This means however, that the data is only of a historical nature. There is little new - found data, unless it is secondary, and compiled by other researchers. It is thus impossible to question and cross - examine sources from the past. The historical data will have to make out the majority of the study.

1.5.2 Data sources

The study will be based on the use of mainly historical material, e.g. books written on the subjects mentioned, as well as other written documents in journals and Internet resources. This will comprise the major sources of the information for this study.

1.5.3 Goals of Research

The study will be of an informative nature. It will discuss the cause or rather the reason for the conflict and how much weight each cause carries in the argument regarding the reason for conflict in Palestine. This study will take on a descriptive nature that will establish a background on the context of the situation. Through descriptive research a well-defined subject is determined and then research is done to describe the subject accurately. Descriptive research provides a detailed, highly accurate picture and also reports on the background or context of a situation (Neuman; 2000:22).

This study will describe the past and how the conflict in Palestine came to be. The discussion of the history will report on the background of the situation to better come to terms with the conflict issue in the region.

Looking at the data available on this subject, one can see that the opinion of a number of researchers is divided between the two sides. Respectively, there is sympathy for the Jews and sympathy for the Palestinians. It is difficult with this kind of study to stay objective. A lot of the already available studies are very subjective in nature. Although there is literature supporting the side of the Jews, many are in favour of the Palestinian plight as well. Both sides' history is rich and possesses credit for the reason for the conflict.

A researcher, Watson, (2001:3) provides an example of a biased study. In his study he feels that 90% of the blame of the violence is the fault of the Israelis. His reason is that the Israeli force is much stronger than that of the Palestinians. He argues that it is the responsibility of the stronger force to limit the violence as far as possible.

The media is also a key player when it comes to being biased. The ordinary person in the street tends to believe almost everything the media portrays. This forms an uninformed and biased community. Propaganda is a useful weapon when it comes to gaining support for a certain cause and the media uses this well, which can be seen throughout the times.

Looking at an example of this, one can see how the media has an influence on how one perceives a problem when it is reported in a certain manner. In an American newspaper R. Wright, (2002:1), mentions an incident that took place early in 2001. Here 15 Israeli's died at the hands of a suicide bomber. This journalist draws comparisons to illustrate the impact such an incident would have if it took place in America. He states that there are about 300 million people living in America and about 6 million who live in Israel. So when the above incident takes place, the effect of it will be 50 times greater for America. It could be compared to 750 American civilians killed.

He goes further by comparing Jewish and Palestinian losses since the start of the "*Intifadeh*" in September 2000. The roughly 350 Israelis that died can be compared to 17 500 Americans or equivalent to six September 11th incidents. The 1200 Palestinians that died is compared to 120 000 Americans or 2 Vietnam Wars. This journalist used this comparison to illustrate the impact the suicide bombs and other incidents would have had on the Middle East if it had the same geographical characteristics and the same population count. By doing this he illustrated how desperate and serious the problem in the Middle East is, achieving the goal of good journalism by drawing attention to the problem. It is though, of utmost importance to stay as objective as possible in the study and look at the facts and information available. The subject matter for this study is of a very emotional nature and need to be approached in a neutral way. Because of the tone some of the literature is written in, it is difficult to stay objective the whole time. By having an emotionally neutral written paper, one can make conclusions and propose solutions in a more rational way.

1.5.4 Limitations and Delimitations

It goes without saying that the conflict situation in Palestine is vast in both scope and depth. Because of the limit of this thesis, it would be impossible to cover every aspect of the conflict in one research report. Therefore there are limitations on the discussions in this study. The geographical area in question is the area that is known as the state of Israel in 2003 and the surrounding countries bordering Israel. Most of the study will be confined within Israel's boundaries. The city of Jerusalem is also a core subject that will be under discussion. The time frame to be used, will be from the arrival of the Israelites and Palestinians in the land of Canaan, early Palestine, to the recent events played out in Israel today.

The study will focus on the reason the Palestinians use terrorism as a warfare tactic.

1.5.5 Theory

A theory is defined as a system of interconnected abstractions or ideas that condenses and organises knowledge about the social way (Neuman; 2000:40).

There are many theories the Israeli/Palestinian conflict can be based upon. The theory I am going to use as a framework for the study is that of Samuel P Huntington (1993). He uses civilizations and culture as his main theory to explain the reason why conflict occurs. He feels that in the future the wars that will be fought will be by cultural units (1993:22). Nation states will still play the dominant role in world politics, but the principal conflicts will occur between nations and groups of different cultures. Huntington sees that conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world. His theory can also be applied to my study to explain why there is conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians and indirectly explain why the Palestinians use tactics such as suicide bombings to reach their targets. Looking at the cultural differences between the groups in question one can clearly detect the immense differences and possibilities for conflict between them.

Huntington (1993:23) describes a civilization as a cultural entity. A civilization normally has distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity within its

villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities and religious groups. To illustrate this, one can think of the situation where a culture of a village in a region of a country may differ from another in the same country, but where both share the country's common culture that distinguish it from another country. Civilizations may also differ from continent to continent. For example the civilizations living in Africa differ significantly from those living on the Asian continent. The civilization to which a person belongs to can be seen as the broadest level of identification he identifies himself/herself to. Civilizations can change their boundaries however, as people redefine their identities. A civilization can thus be seen as the highest cultural grouping of people.

Civilizations may include a great number of people or it may even consist of only a very small number of people. Civilizations may blend and overlap and include sub – civilizations. Huntington (1993:24) uses the example of the Western civilization which has two major variants, namely Europe and North America, and Islam which has its Arab, Turkic and Malay subdivisions. Civilizations may rise and fall, divide and merge, as it is known to happen throughout history.

Huntington (1993:25) predicts that civilization - identity will become more and more important in the future. He sees the world shaped by interactions among the seven or eight major and dominant civilizations. These are Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic – Orthodox, Latin American and possibly the African civilizations. The conflict that might arise in the future will occur along the culture fault lines separating the abovementioned civilizations from one another. Huntington (1993:25) lists several reasons of why this might be the case. The first one is that the differences among civilizations are basic. The distinctive features that make civilizations different from each other are; history, language, culture, tradition and the most important is religion. The Jews and Palestinians differ in every aspect mentioned above. Israelis follow Judaism, whereas the Palestinians' faith is vested in Islam. These two religions have a different perspective of God and they also have different views on relations between God and man.

The differences mentioned above are the product of centuries and will not soon go away. Over the centuries these differences among civilizations has lead to many violent conflicts.

The second reason why conflicts are prone to occur between civilizations in the future is the fact that the world is becoming a smaller place. People of different civilizations interact more frequently and these interactions tend to intensify civilizational consciousness and awareness of differences between the civilizations.

The third reason listed, is that the process of economic modernization and social change throughout the world is separating people from longstanding local identities. This weakens the nation state as a source of identity. Huntington (1993:26) feels that religion has moved in to fill this gap in the form of different “fundamentalist” movements. This revival of religion in civilizations provides a basis for identity and commitment that seem to transcend the national boundaries and thus unite civilizations.

The fourth reason is the West is enhancing the growth of civilization – consciousness by the dual role they are portraying. It is explained that the West is, on the one hand, at the peak of its power, and at the same time, at a return to roots phenomenon. One regularly hears about this phenomenon that takes place in different civilizations. Few examples are the “Asianization” in Japan, “Hinduization” of India, the failure of Western ideas of socialism and nationalism and thus the “re – Islamization” of the Middle East. This is the case where a West at the peak of its power confronts non – Westerners that have the desire and to shape the world in non – Western ways. In the past the situation was reversed. Elites of non – Western societies were usually the people who were most involved with the West. This happened while the populace in non – Western countries often remained imbued with the indigenous culture.

The fifth reason is that the cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable, and therefore less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. Communists can become democrats, rich can become poor, poor can become rich, but a Russian cannot become an Estonian. Huntington (1993:27) explains that in class and ideological conflicts the key question is “Which side are you on?”, and the people

could, and did choose sides and also change sides. However, in conflicts between civilizations, the question is “What are you?” The answer is a given and cannot be changed. Religion seems to discriminate even more than ethnicity. Huntington (1993:27) uses the example that a person can be half – French and half – Arab and simultaneously a citizen of two countries. It not possible to be half – Catholic and half – Muslim.

The last reason is that economic regionalism is increasing. The proportion of total trade that is intra - regional is increasing. It is also likely that the importance of regional economic blocs will increase in the future. The positive side to this is that successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilization – consciousness. But this can only be successful if economic regionalism is rooted in a common civilization. To illustrate this, Huntington (1993:27) mentions that European Community rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity.

The differences sprouted within the religions have been rooted there for centuries and it is unlikely that they will disappear. As people start to identify themselves in ethnic and religious terms, they can come to see an “us” versus “them” relation between themselves and people of a different ethnicity or religion. Both the Palestinians and Israelis know the differences of the other and openly voice their dislikes and distrust of the other. Each of these two cultural groups believes their views and beliefs to be the right ones to follow.

The differences between Palestinians and Israeli’s are based on cultural fundamentals and not on political or economic differences and thus they cannot easily compromise in terms of these differences. This has to do with the fact that the culture was passed on through over many centuries and is now an undeniable part of the people’s identity, and for them, to lose identity would lead to loss of self - worth.

Huntington (1993:29) explains that the clash of civilizations takes place on two levels. There is the micro – level, where adjacent groups along the fault lines between civilizations struggle for control over territory and each other. The macro – level is where states from different civilizations compete over the control of international

institutions and third parties, and competitively promote their particular political and religious values.

The micro – level clash has a great deal of relevance to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. There is not only a struggle for territory, but for identity within Israel. Probably the most evident example of control over specific territory is Jerusalem, more specific East Jerusalem. Both parties want full control over the city. This is the case because of the religious significance of the city for each. The fact that these two religions differ in many ways makes it difficult to find a solution to the problem. There is no common ground and to have control over a holy site would mean the denial and neglect of the other religions' in term of the same location.

At the macro – level the case of internationalisation of Jerusalem can be brought into argument. In Chapter four, this issue where a third party will be in control of the city if indeed it is internationalised, will be discussed.

Throughout this study this theory will be used with regard to the explanations in the respective chapters. This is where we will consider culture within the different civilizations as the reason for the conflict within Israel.

1.5.6 Conceptualization

Certain concepts have to be defined to fit into the context of the study. Concepts can take on different meanings depending on the type of study and the subject for it. There are a few concepts that arise regularly in the course of the study and need to be conceptualized in order for the study to make sense. I'm going to list these concepts and supply a definition for each:

1.5.6.1 Civilization: Huntington (1993:23) describes a civilization as a cultural entity. A civilization normally has distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity within its villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities and religious groups. A civilization is the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have. It can be defined by common objective elements like language, history, religion, customs and institutions. It can also be defined by means

of subjective elements like self – identification of people where they have levels of identity.

1.5.6.2 Conflict: Heywood (1997:4) defines conflict as competition between opposing forces, reflecting a diversity of opinions, preferences, needs and interests. My definition of conflict in the study is more or less the same, except that I bring the element of violence into the conflict e.g. terrorism and military retaliation.

1.5.6.3 Fault line: This is a term Huntington (1993:22) uses in his theory about conflict between civilizations. He describes the fault line as the battle lines of the future. This is where civilizations engage in conflict be it violent or not. These fault lines are usually cultural in nature. Aspects on which civilizations may differ from the other, includes religion, language, history, tradition and culture. All of these can be fault lines along which conflict between two civilizations may occur. Huntington (1993:29) sees fault lines between civilizations, replacing the political and ideological boundaries of the Cold War as the flash points for crisis and bloodshed. Chapter four presents an example of where conflict is taking place along a fault line between the two civilizations. Jerusalem has religious significance for each. The city is divided between two different religions from two different civilizations.

1.5.6.4 Internationalisation: This concept is used in chapter four to explain the process of placing Jerusalem in international control and administration.

1.5.6.5 Israelite/Israeli: Israelites are the people God (Judaism and Christianity) promised the land to where Israel is situated today. Israelis are the people living in Israel (the independent state established in the mid -1900's). The Israelis are mostly referred to as the military fighting the Palestinians who use terrorism tactics.

1.5.6.6 Low intensity conflict: This term will be used and explained in chapter three. Low intensity conflict has to do with the force in which the warfare is being conducted in Palestine. The concentration, thus the strength of the warfare between the Palestinians and Israelis is of a low impact. It is not conducted on a full scale like in conventional warfare. Because of the unconventional methods Palestinians use in the conflict, it is very unlikely that the conflict/warfare can be of a high intensity. This

could be a reason why the conflict has dragged on over the years. There are only incidents once in a while and not intense conflict over several weeks or even days. The manner in which the conflict is conducted is known as low – intensity conflict. Van Creveld (1991:22) lists characteristics of this kind of conflict; these include the profile of the people involved, the status of the country's development, the armies or fighters/soldiers involved and the weapons they use in the conflict against one another. The standard of the abovementioned characteristics is usually of a low quality and quantity.

1.5.6.7 Palestinian/Arab: In chapter one a section is devoted to the term and what the meaning of Palestinian is. In general the term Palestinians is used to refer to the Arab Muslims living in Israel fighting for an independent Palestine (outside the state of Israel).

1.5.6.8 Peace process/agreements: This concept will be discussed in chapter five. It is difficult to find a universally agreed definition of a peace process. Darby & Mac Ginty (2000:7) lists a few common characteristics of a peace process. These are; firstly, that the protagonists are willing to negotiate in good faith and have made a conscious choice to engage in negotiations, secondly the key actors are included in the process, thirdly the negotiations address the central issues in the dispute, fourthly the negotiators do not use force to achieve their objectives, and lastly the negotiators are committed to a sustained process.

The process usually begins with a public announcement and often a ceasefire. The peace process cannot be regarded as complete unless a political and constitutional framework has been agreed upon (Darby & Mac Ginty; 2000:8).

1.5.6.9 Terrorism: Terrorism can be seen as a form of warfare conducted either by individuals or very small groups. O'Neill (1978:13) explains that terrorism involves the threat or use of covert and sporadic violence. These include murder, torture, mutilation, bombing, and arson, kidnapping, and highjacking – in order to achieve both long - and short - term political aims.

CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE: OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

One part of the answer to the research question as to why Palestinians become suicide bombers, lies in the history of Palestine. To understand how the Palestinians see themselves in Palestine, one needs to explore the history of the land. The historical overview will highlight the origin of the Palestinians and the Israelites, and how both came to be in Palestine. The history of Palestine stretches over centuries. It is thus essential to explore the history in order to answer the research question. I believe the answer lies not only with the culture of each, but also in the history of these two civilizations and their pride not to surrender what is important to them. The Jews in turn feel the same pride the Palestinians do. This in itself is one of the flash points on a fault line where conflict occurs between these two civilizations.

Huntington's framework can be applied to the history of Palestine. There are two civilizations in Israel, which have been in conflict with each other for hundreds of years. Both these two civilizations have different languages, histories, traditions and religions. These differences are carried through the centuries and have become a part of their daily life.

Civilization – consciousness between the two civilizations were enhanced with the interaction between the two civilizations in the past. This has led to conflict regarding their respective history, religion and culture. To illustrate the conflict along the fault lines of these two civilizations, the history will be discussed in order to understand the immense differences and conflict issues between the two civilizations.

The Palestinians and Jews of Israel differ in almost everything. These two civilizations or people are expected to live together in peace and harmony and yet there is little they see eye to eye on or have in common. They differ in religion, beliefs and culture not to mention their views on Israel and the future of the country. By looking at the last few centuries one can understand why these two civilizations differ in so many respects¹.

¹ See Appendix F for a detailed timeline of the history of Israel/Palestine.

2.2 The Land of Three Faiths

The land of Palestine is shared in history by mainly three dominant religions. These are Judaism, Islam and Christianity. These religions are practiced among different civilizations and differ significantly. Judaism is the oldest of the three religions in Palestine. Judaism embraces a strict code of ethics based on ancient conviction that humanity is unique in its ability to choose between good and evil. Judaism can be traced to Abraham, thought to have lived almost 4000 years ago. The book of *Genesis* from the *Bible* and *Torah*, describes God's command to Abraham to go to a new land and the promise of future generations that would inherit the land. Later God revealed to Moses the *Ten Commandments*, which is part of the *Torah*, or *Teaching*, as set forth in the first five books in the *Bible*. The *Torah* has supplementing oral traditions known as the *Mishnah* and the *Talmud*, and interpretations of the Scripture, or *Midrash*.

Then during the Roman era the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth gave rise to a new movement that eventually inspired the Western world. This new faith was very popular among the Gentiles and the non – Jews. Missionaries were answering their Messiah's call to “teach all the nations and to baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost” (Garret; 1989:1). Christianity however draws on Judaism. It even retained some of the Hebrew Scriptures as the part of the *Bible* known as the *Old Testament*. The *New Testament* reveals the divergence from Judaism – in its belief in the Resurrection and gives different interpretations of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.

The Islam religion laid claim on the Prophet Muhammad. In A.D 610 Muhammad, a Meccan merchant received his calling from God to preach a new faith. Muhammad united the nomadic tribes of Arabia and set the stage for Islam's reach across the Middle East and North Africa. The word “Islam” means submission to God or Allah. The Islamic faith does recognize Judaism and Christianity, but they believe that Muhammad was the last and the perfect prophet. Muslims believe that their sacred book, the *Koran*, was revealed to Muhammad through the archangel Gabriel. The *Sunna* consists of sayings and deeds of the Prophet and supplements the *Koran*. After

two centuries after the death of Muhammad, various legal schools had emerged to interpret the *Shari 'a*, or Islamic law (Garret; 1989:1).

2.3 Arrival in the Land of Canaan

The arrival of both Arab and Jew in the land, known as Canaan in the Biblical times, is the starting point for both civilizations' presence in Palestine. Religion is a key factor in the struggle to obtain the Holy Land. Religion goes hand in hand with the history of each of these groups and how they came to be in the land of Israel. The question that cannot be answered conclusively is the one of ownership of the land. The conflict in the Middle East is rooted deeply in the past. It is centuries and centuries old. The land of Palestine's history is thus very rich with information. The fault lines where conflict reigns in Palestine has originated and was carried through history.

The first ever battle fought for the Holy Land was recorded in 1482 B.C. The Battle was known as the Battle of Megiddo and it was fought between two different civilizations, the Egyptians and the Canaanites. This battle was of the first to be recorded in detail and this was found carved on the walls of the Temple of Amun at Thebes (Duncan & Opatowski, 1998:1).

The land of Palestine exchanged hands several times in history. This was not so only between the Palestinians and the Jews, but also between the Turks and the British, not to mention those who tried to conquer the Holy Land, like the French and other Arab countries like Egypt and Syria. A reason ventured for the multiple wars and battles fought over the Holy Land could be that Israel was seen as a "gateway" to other Middle Eastern countries. This was so, because of Israel's ideal geographical location. It was thought that to conquer and possess Israel would mean that one had a stronghold in the Middle East. The Holy Land was not only a strategic area, but also had sacred meanings to many religions. This was especially true for monotheistic religions including Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It is known that all these fought to gain control of the land. Each of these religions ascribed different meanings to the wars and battles fought. The Israelites conquered it, because God had promised it to them, while the Crusaders fought for it to regain Christian access to Jerusalem and then the

Mamelukes, from Egypt, recovered it for the Islam faith. The Jews fought to establish a Jewish state and their Muslim neighbors have fought for the land ever since the first battle fought over the Holy Land in 1482 B.C. (Duncan & Opatowski; 1998: vii).

2.4 The meaning of “Palestine” and “Palestinian”

To understand the Palestinian/Arab civilization within Palestine, one needs to look at the history of the people and how they came to be in Palestine. The word “Palestine” is contested among many as never having a specific and meaningful description. It is thought that the word is derived from “Peleshet”, which has its origin in the *Bible*. The word is more commonly known in the *Bible* as “Philistine”. Palestine is used to describe a geographical region and Palestinians are the Arabs who inhabit it. Palestine is thus not a nation or a state.

In the 13th century B.C. the word “Philistine” came into being when a group of people or civilization, known as the “Sea People”, came from the area of the Aegean Sea and the Greek Islands, mainly from the Crete Island, and settled on the southern coast of the land of Canaan. The name Canaan can be connected with the Akkadian word for ‘reddish purple’, and is likely to indicate the area where this reddish purple came from. This was the coastal region of Syria. The name Canaan was often used for the Syrian coastal regions and their hinterland, as far as Upper Galilee. Later Canaan referred to the territory governed by Egypt which, in addition to what was later Palestine, also included Phoenicia and part of Syria (Jagersma; 1982:8). This is where they established five different independent cities - states on a narrow strip of land². This included Gaza and was known as Philistia.

The influx of Hebrew tribes from the desert into Palestine occurred between the 14th and 12th centuries B.C., after the Philistines arrived from the sea. The Hebrew tribes came to dominate the area politically by forging a union in 1000 BC. This was done under the warrior kings, Saul, David and Solomon. The union was fragile however and the kingdom was eventually split into two states, known as Israel and Judah. The Assyrians and Babylonia later destroyed these two states (Jaber; 2002:1-3).

² See Grant (1984) “History of Ancient Israel” for a description of these states.

Joan Peters (<http://www.tzemach.org>: 5) make several arguments in her book *"From Time Immemorial"* about what "Palestine" and "Palestinian" means. She argues that the Philistines were never Arabs or Semites. They had no connection, ethnic, linguistic or historical with Arabia or the Arabs at all. The name "Falastin" that the Arabs use for "Palestine" is not an Arabic name. It is the Arab pronunciation of the Greco-Roman "Palastina" derived from the abovementioned word "Peleshet", meaning Philistine.

The Romans gave the name "Palastina" to the land of Canaan in the first centuries after Christ was crucified. The Romans tried to crush the independent state of Judea. After the failed rebellion of Bar Kokhba in the 2nd century A.C., the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, was determined to wipe out the identity of Israel-Judah-Judea. He changed the name of the land of Israel to "Palastina" and renamed Jerusalem to *Aelia Capitolina*. Many Jews were slayed or sold into slavery. Those that survived left the country in fear for their lives. Although many Jews left the land of "Palastina", it was never completely abandoned by them. The population size and conditions of the Jewish community in the Palestine did fluctuate a lot during the next centuries, but there were always Jews in Israel, even if there were times they were scarce and in the minority.

Centuries before "Palastina" was created, the land was still known as Canaan. In Canaan there were many small city-states, each one at times independent and at times a vassal of an Egyptian or Hittite king. These cities of Canaan however never united into a state or an unclassified nation like it did when the Jews arrived from the desert³.

The Jews or the "Children of Israel" as they are known from biblical times came to establish themselves in Canaan roughly in the 13th century. This happened in one of the most known events in the Christian or Jewish calendar in the Old Testament. This event was known as the exodus from Egypt, where Moses led the Israelites to the "Promised Land" and freed them from slavery from the Pharaoh of Egypt. This event is written up in the book of Exodus in the Christian *Bible* and Jewish *Torah*.

³ Moses led the Israelites through the Red Sea to Canaan. The aim was to bring the "children back to the land of Canaan and the land of the forefathers" (Wurmbrand & Roth; 1966:14).

In Canaan they first formed a tribal confederation, and then the Biblical kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and the post-Biblical kingdom of Judea. King David brought most of Palestine under the control of a single king around the year 1000 B.C. It was the first time that the main part of the country was subordinated to the authority of a single king (Lemche; 1988:75).

2.5 Chronology

2.5.1 Roman and Muslim conquest of Israel

After the Roman conquest of Judea, “Palastina” became a province of the pagan Roman Empire and then of the Christian Byzantine Empire, and for a short while, of the Zoroastrian Persian Empire. In the year 638 A.C., an Arab-Muslim Caliph took the Land away from the Byzantine Empire and made it part of the Arab-Muslim Empire.

During this period, many of the population in Palastina adopted Islamic customs and beliefs as well as the Arabic language. Palastina did not however become a nation or an independent state. Neither did they develop a distinct society or culture during those years.

2.5.2 Christian Crusades

The next period was the beginning of the Dark or Middle Ages. In this period, roughly from 1099 until 1291, Christian Crusaders from Europe conquered Palastina - Falastin. The Crusaders took Jerusalem and established a feudal kingdom that was destroyed in 1291 when the Mamelukes of Egypt expelled the Europeans. The Christian Crusader kingdoms were politically independent, but never developed a national identity. It only remained a military outpost of Christian Europe.

2.5.3 The Ottoman Empire and the rise of Zionism

The rule of the Turkish Ottoman Empire (1516-1918) brought economic and cultural stagnation to the region. Palestine was a remote region of the Ottoman Empire with no central government of its own and few accepted norms (Segev; 2000:1).

Many of the Jewish immigrants that came to Palestine had renounced their previous citizenship. Most came from Russia. Russia was an ally of France and Great Britain at that time. The Jews then had to choose between two options. The first was that they could leave the country, or wait until they were expelled. The second alternative was to accept Ottoman citizenship and enlist.

Since the 1880's, immigrants started to come to Palestine from Europe, the inspiration for Zionism took hold together with the threat of deportation. Zionism's purpose was in a sense to prevent a decline in the number of Jews in the country (Segev; 2000:16). Zionism was an ideology born in the Central and Eastern Europe Jewish communities. This ideology comprised of a combined program to revive the ancient Hebrew culture with an assertion of the self - identity of Jews who felt threatened by various European nationalist movements. The World Zionist Congress (1897) in Basel, Switzerland, called for a Jewish "national home" in Palestine.

2.5.4 World Wars

Probably the most horrific time in history for the Jewish people was that of the two world wars, especially the Second World War. After the First World War, Britain was chosen as protector of Palestine after their victory over the Ottoman Empire. Britain made several promises to both the Jews and the Arabs in terms of establishing their own independent states. The first of these promises was to the Arabs of Palestine, promising them an independent state in return for their support in the battle against the Turks in the Middle East. In 1919, the year after the First World War, Britain drew up the Balfour Declaration, promising to help the Jews in establishing their own independent state in Palestine.

Those Jews already settled in Palestine were also under constant attack from the Arabs. The security concerns the Jews had during those times were twofold. Firstly, there was the threat of conventional attack through the West Bank from the East and from Egypt through the Sinai desert. This was especially the case when the British evacuated Israel when the Mandate ended and meant the establishment of Israel. This meant that the British would not support or supply any help for the Jewish. The second security concern was that of terrorism from the Palestinians. Various revolts and terrorist attacks took place as soon as Britain left Palestine. This left Israel to fight off the overwhelming attacks launched against their defense forces and civilian settlements (Duncan & Opatowski; 1998:205).

2.5.5 Palestine under the British Mandate

The Ottoman Empire came to a fall during the First World War, when the British took Palestine from the Ottoman Turks. This happened with the invasion of Palestine under the leadership of Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby and the capturing of Jerusalem in December 1917 by the British. At the end of the war, the Ottoman Empire collapsed and Palestine being a subject province of the Empire, was assigned to British protection. Britain was to govern Palestine temporarily as a mandate for the League of Nations. The mandate was supposed to encourage the development of self-governing institutions and then independence.

Independence in Palestine was delayed however, because there were conflicting claims amongst the Arabs and Jews of the region. The British had to weigh the situation in order to find a solution to the problem. The mandate the British had over Palestine was of great importance and usefulness when the time came for the Jewish to have their own state. The Israeli army learnt much of its craft from the British. Israel's legal system and administrative structures were adopted from the mandate.

The British had an immense task with the mandate in Palestine. The British had to govern two different communities, the Jews and the Arabs. These two entities were bitterly and irreconcilably divided by politics, religion, culture, economic and social organising.

The conflicting claims continued amongst these two entities and this could be due to the fact that in 1916 an ambiguous political accord between Husayn Ibn Ali, sharif of Mecca, and Henry McMahon, British high Commissioner in Cairo, had led the Arabs to believe that the British would support the creation of an independent Arab state, which included Palestine.

2.5.6 Jewish prosperity in Israel

For the Jews, Palestine was a country to be restored and built to their own glory and prosperity for their kind. Before the Jews came to settle on the land of Palestine, it was a desolate and barren countryside with little sign of life. Although there were signs of good soil and prospects of cultivation, the land was never used and worked by the Arabs who were settled on the land before the Jews.

The first Jewish pioneers created a new and better countryside with their labour. They converted the barren land into a fruitful and cultivated land. This attracted other immigrants from other parts of the world who wanted to be a part of the building of a country for their own kind. The immigrants were not only Jews but also Arabs from other parts of the Middle East.

The Balfour declaration, so named because it was signed by the former British foreign secretary, Arthur James Balfour, stated that the area of Palestine was to be open to "close Jewish settlements". The rights of all inhabitants already in the country were also to be preserved and protected (Meir; 1975:46)

After the introduction of the Balfour Declaration, Jews began streaming into the land of Palestine from various countries in Europe especially from Central and Eastern Europe. This led to the growing fear of Jewish domination by the Arabs in Palestine. The Arabs opposed the Balfour Declaration and Jewish immigration and called for the prohibition of land sales to Jews (Europa; 1981:453). The conflict deepened in the 1930's when in reaction to the Nazi persecution of Jews in Europe, Jewish settlements sprang up more rapidly in Palestine. By then the Jewish population was a third of that of the Arabs in Palestine.

The British tried again to help reach a compromise between the two nations by issuing the “White Paper” that limited Jewish immigration into Palestine at a Round Table Congress in London in 1939. The White Paper promised the establishment of an independent Palestine with an Arab majority within 10 years.

The British mandate included the land that is known as Jordan today. Emir Abdullah, a protégé of the British was forced to leave his ancestral home in Arabia. The British created a realm for him in the Jordan area, east of the Jordan River. This act violated the conditions of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The Jewish territory was cut by more than 75%. The Jewish people were never permitted to settle in this area known as Trans-Jordan/Jordan.

The Holocaust during the Second World War was the biggest tragedy for Jewish kind. Palestine and the prospect of a Jewish state gave hope to thousands of Jews. The Jewish population in Palestine increased during, and after the war, due to immigration from various European countries, where Jews were massacred and hunted. The immigration of Jews to Palestine however became limited by laws implemented by Britain (known as the White Paper), which was the demise of hundreds of Jews, victim to the Holocaust.

Issuing the White Paper of 1939 was the cause of the limitation. This ended Jewish immigration to Palestine. The timing could not have been worse for the Jewish population. This policy was implemented during the Second World War and the rise of Nazi power, where thousands of Jews were the victims of Nazi hatred. Permitting Arabs, illegally, into the land of Palestine further aggravated the plight of the Jews. This increased the Arab population immensely, to triple of that which it had been in 1900.

In May 1942, the Biltmore Conference in New York demanded the formation of an independent Jewish commonwealth. This attracted endorsement from U.S. political leaders. By 1947, the British referred the issue of Palestine to the United Nations. The United Nations voted in November that year to split Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. The Jews proclaimed the creation of the independent state of Israel, amidst violent Arab protests.

In 1947, on the eve of May the 14th, when the British evacuated Palestine, Arab states surrounding Israel, like Trans-Jordan, seized much of Judea and Samaria and East Jerusalem with the Old City. They killed or drove out many Jews. By this time, the Arabs still did not establish their ancient nation of Falastin. They were offered half of Palestine west of the Jordan River for a state, but they rejected the offer. Next, six Arab states launched a war of annihilation against the State of Israel. The aim of this war was not to establish an independent Palestine state, but to partition western Palestine amongst others. Trans-Jordan took Judea and the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The Jews that lived there were driven away or killed. The Jews were also banned from Jewish holy places. Egypt then won the Gaza strip.

In January 1948 Britain granted Trans - Jordan total independence and a treaty of alliance that would last for 25 years. Emir Abdullah was to become king and his forces were equipped by the British and commanded by a British officer. Then in December 1949 Abdullah annexed Arab Palestine to Trans - Jordan and renamed it as the new state of Jordan (Hamlyn; 1964:396).

2.5.7 Post British Evacuation

In 1964 the Palestine Liberation Movement was founded. Ahmed Shukairy was the first chairman of this movement. Its aim was the destruction of Israel and liberation of Falastin (Palestine).

Israel won back the West Bank after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. In 1974 the United Nations General Assembly reaffirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and national sovereignty. The Arab nations (including Jordan) signed the Rabat resolution, which proclaimed the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian People.

In December 1987, Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza Strip launched an uprising (*Intifadeh*) in an effort to end Israeli occupation and in November 1988 the PLO unilaterally declared an independent Palestinian state and implicitly recognised the sovereignty of Israel.

In 1991 the Arabs and Israel met in Madrid to try and solve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue. The next agreement was the “Oslo Agreement” that would attempt to solve the Palestinian crisis in three stages. In September 1993 Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the PLO, entered the Gaza Strip as the President of Palestinian Authority and declared the beginning of the establishment of the Palestinian State on the land of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

2.6 Majority rule?

Some groups sometime use population and their size to determine ownership of a state. This claim is not necessarily recognised in international law to determine legitimacy. Although this might seem to be an easy and convenient measure to use to determine land rights, it is in fact much more controversial than one thinks. One must ask the question of how these numbers came to be. Both Arabs and Jews were once a majority in the land of Palestine. A factor that was mentioned above was that of the policy of the British to keep immigration of Jews at bay, while the Arabs streamed into the land of Palestine from the eastern countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Violence against the Jews is another factor mentioned. This further limited the immigration of Jews, not to mention the killing of Jews to decrease their numbers in Palestine.

2.7 Conclusion

The history of Palestine is one of many conflicts and hatred. Israel has often changed many hands in the past and there is a constant dispute over ownership. It is evident when looking at the history discussed above, that the issue of ownership could not and cannot be resolved easily. It can thus be concluded that the conflict playing off in the Middle East today, originated in the past and has carried on over the centuries. This overview of the history of Palestine’s past gives us an indication as to why the conflict that is taking place, and sets the stage for chapters to follow. Having an understanding of the past will give a clearer picture of the reasons for the conflict and the reason the Palestinians feel that they must use tactics as drastic as suicide bombings to realize their dream of possessing an independent state.

CHAPTER 3: WARFARE IN PALESTINE

3.1 Introduction

In order to answer the research question, asking why Palestinians become suicide bombers, one should understand the type of battle and under which type of conditions they have to engage in with the Israeli's. The tactics the Palestinians used against the Israeli's are very different from the usual conventional method of warfare. The Israeli's in their turn use more conventional weapons and warfare. The reason Palestinians become suicide bombers can, in part, be attributed to the organisation they see themselves serving, namely the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). Its origin and their doings will be discussed. To understand the enemy the Palestinians have to face, Israel and her military past will also be discussed. By explaining the military aspect in the conflict between the two, one can, in part, answer the research question.

Within Huntington's framework, regarding conflict between civilizations, it would be interesting to note how the conflict between these two civilizations takes place. The clash between the fault lines, of these two civilizations is in effect, a case of conventional against unconventional warfare.

When one looks at the situation in Palestine/Israel, it can be seen that the kind of battle they fight against each other is not of the usual kind. One side is militarily stronger and the other side has a loosely constructed force with inadequate weapons to fight the force of the Israeli army. The Palestinians use terrorism as weapon against the Israelis. The Palestinians do not focus their effort on the Israeli military, but rather on the civilians at random intervals. This makes it very difficult for the Israeli Military Force to prevent attacks from the Palestinians. Their best bet is to focus on the ringleaders of *Hamas* and the like, which is known to be of a terrorist nature. All Palestinians are not terrorists, so the Israeli government can not declare war on the Palestinians as a nation. Palestinians also do not have their own country, so the Israeli government can also not declare war on a specific Palestinian state either.

The problem is of a domestic nature and can not be easily resolved, since it is difficult to control terrorism.

Looking at the kind of warfare the two civilizations engage in, one can come to an understanding as to how either side must experience the conflict. Terrorism is not a recent occurrence in Israel, and looking at the history of the most notorious terrorist organisation, the PLO, one can see how far back the problem goes.

Past events show that there are new terrorist groups emerging and the Israeli's are using new and much more direct approaches to combat the threat.

3.2 Terrorism: A lethal kind of warfare

Much literature on theories of warfare has been written in the past. Warfare is one of the most interesting and complicated subjects one can broach. There are different styles and types of warfare, some conventional and some not. O'Neill (1978:130) defines a form of warfare as one variety of organised violence emphasizing particular armed forces, weapons, tactics, and targets. Examples of forms of warfare are; naval blockades, ground combat, air campaigns, and guerilla operations. O'Neill lists three forms of warfare that are normally important in insurgent conflicts. These are terrorism, guerilla war and conventional warfare.

Mentioned in the previous chapter, conflict arises not only between states (although it sometimes happens, for example the 2003 Iraq/USA situation where the American State declared war on the state of Iraq in order to overthrow the regime suspected of operation in nuclear and biological weapons), but also between two different ethnic or religious groups. The examples of these are endless. There is the Ireland conflict between the Irish Protestants and the Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland. Africa is strewn with examples of ethnic clashes, like the situation in Rwanda and Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This shows that conflict, these days, is not only limited to occurring between states, but rather between two different peoples, be it ethnic differences, culture differences or religious differences. Although it sometimes seems that the conflict is initiated by the desire for political power,

possession of land or even resources, an underlying issue of religion or ethnic difference can be detected.

Here Huntington's theory where fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future, come into consideration. Religions and ethnic differences between the two civilizations may be the cause for violence between these two entities. The Jews/Israelites and Muslims/Palestinians can be seen as two different civilizations, each with their own cultural entity. Huntington (1993:25) sees, and this is evident in the Israeli/Palestinian situation, that the most important conflicts will take place along the cultural fault lines which may be separating these civilizations from each other.

The conflict that is taking place between these two civilizations is fought on different levels of expertise and intensity. Terrorism is the main war tactic the Palestinians use in their fight, while the Israeli's use conventional war machines to engage in the conflict.

Terrorism (which includes tactics such as suicide bombings) or guerilla warfare, is the most common war tactic used to fight against stronger oppositions. This type of warfare is very effective, but rarely achieves what it sets out to do. Terrorism can be seen as a form of warfare conducted either by individuals or very small groups. O'Neill (1978:13) explains that terrorism involves the threat or use of covert and sporadic violence. These include murder, torture, mutilation, bombing, and arson, kidnapping, and hijacking – in order to achieve both long - and short - term political aims. Terrorists direct their operations directly against unarmed civilians, rather than military or economic targets. The shift is to more “softer” targets. These targets are usually those places that are difficult to protect. The terrorists have switched to striking Westerners where risks are lower in terms of protection. These places are easily accessible to anyone, such as dance halls, hotels, shopping malls and tourist sites. These places are usually not very well protected and can never be so (McGeary; 2002:24).

The past years since 2000 (beginning of the *Intifadeh*), Israel has been under intense terrorist attacks. The terrorist organisation taking credit for these attacks is not *Fatah* or any other well – known PLO terrorist movement, but a movement that has been

operating for nearly 9 years up until 2000. In 2000 and 2001, *Hamas* has benefited from the failure of diplomacy and the rise of violence. Another terrorist group is claiming to be responsible for terrorist attacks on a larger scale than *Hamas*. This group is known as *Hizballah*. Both of these movements are Islamic fundamentalists with a military and social – political wing. The supporters of these two movements differ however. Where the supporters for *Hizballah* are *Shi'te* Muslims, *Sunni* Muslims make out the majority of support for *Hamas*.

In the past *Hamas*, based in the Gaza Strip, has received help from *Hizballah* which is based in Lebanon, but later the leaders of *Hizballah* saw an opportunity to boost their own prestige among the Palestinians as an independent terrorist group. Since then there has been competition between the two groups to prove themselves. *Hizballah* has a much larger military capacity than *Hamas*⁴. *Hizballah* has mobile mortars that make it much easier for them to strike at Israel than the suicide bombers that *Hamas* are accustomed to using. Although the two groups have different goals⁵ they have the same enemy, Israel. In *Hamas*, only the most dedicated and disciplined are allowed into the tight little cells that carry out the attacks. *Hamas* operations include kidnappings of soldiers and drive – by shootings, but exploding human bombs are their specialty (Mcgeary; 2001:24) Volunteers for suicide bombers are abundant, which enables *Hamas* to select only the finest.

The question, constantly plaguing one's mind, is why Palestinians volunteer to be suicide bombers or under which conditions they offer to become suicide bombers? What kind of people are they, and what makes them different from other people. Even mothers will become martyrs if given the opportunity and many have offered to do so. Why would mothers give their lives and not think twice about the lives of her children? Already Muslim women are standing in as suicide bombers. The only way to know the logic behind these incidences is to understand the Palestinians, their religion and their nation. For them their nation is a nation of anger and defiance (Sarraj; 2002:28). In their culture it is expected of them to become a suicide bomber in the name of an independent Palestine state. They believe that there is a queue of

⁴ In 2001 *Hizballah*'s military wing consisted of 500 highly trained fighters and several thousand volunteers, while *Hamas* has little more than 200 fighters (Rees; 2001:27).

⁵ *Hamas* seek to build an Islamic republic within Israel, whereas *Hizballah* wants other Muslims to adopt *Jihad* against Israel and the West (Rees; 2001:27).

people waiting to enter heaven, and by committing such a heroic deed, it will enable them to jump the queue (Sarraj; 2002:27).

The Palestinian people have a desire for revenge that the majority of Arabs harbor. For them the establishment of Israel created a feeling of shame. Shame is the most painful emotion for the Arab people and lead to a feeling of unworthiness. Thus, a true Arab is one who refuses to suffer shame and rather die in dignity. What is a better way to die than for your people? With the first *intifadeh* the Arabs felt a restoration of some dignity and honor by fighting against Israel. For them they were not the helpless victims anymore.

With the re – entry of Sharon to the political scene, a new *intifadeh* was initiated. The Palestinians began to target any Israeli, be it civilian or soldier. For them they were the same enemy and thus the terror swept through Israel in busses, schools, restaurants and universities. Palestinians want to be remembered as martyrs who fought for the establishment of an independent Palestinian country. The source of this logic is the *Koran*, the most powerful book in the Muslim world. In the *Koran* God promised the Muslims who sacrificed themselves for the sake of Islam, indemnity from death. They will live in their paradise forever promised by their God, *Allah*. Furthermore, Islam martyrdom washes away all past sins and guarantees the bomber places for 70 relatives in heaven. For the Muslims heaven is the ultimate reward and the ultimate test of faith is dying for it (Sarraj; 2002:28).

The above description of Palestinian identity and religion illustrates how different these two civilizations regard their identities. Huntington (1993:25) highlights the cultural differences in his theory. Religion plays a major part in forming an identity within a civilization.

There are specific requirements for Palestinians to become suicide bombers. Those who want to enter martyrdom must be of a certain caliber. The leaders of the *Hamas* and *Islamic Jihad* groups will put the candidates through intense military and relevant training. The candidates are watched all the time for signs of fear of death or doubt about the cause they are dying for. Any of the candidates who waver will be instantly discarded. Except for the suicide bombers, there are also other “posts” filled by

volunteers. These are; scouts, guards, drivers, explosive technicians, electricians and metal smiths (Rees; 2002:22-23).

Although the battles against the Israeli's were mostly of an unconventional kind, this seems to be changing. *Hamas* and other terrorist groups are starting to realize that in order to be acknowledged they need to engage in a form of conventional warfare. In 2001 the militant group *Hizballah* bought or maybe stole a North Korean – designed rocket from Syrian soldiers and passed it on to *Hamas*. Although the attack on an Israeli town was a dud (it landed in an empty field), the rocket's range was 5 km, which is much farther than the mortars *Hamas* fires upon Israeli settlements in the past (Mcgeary; 2001:24). Since 2001 there were no significant reports on similar rockets. The tactic of suicide bombings has yet again been employed on a large scale. The Palestinians maybe realised that they may not have tanks or gun – ships, but they have one thing Israel does not have and that is people willing kill themselves for their cause. And this tactic has received more acknowledgement than the use of primitive warfare weapons.

Although the life span of terrorism is relatively short, it does not mean that terrorism in it self will diminish and fade. After one movement has died, another appears and continue the terror. The past has delivered many terrorist movements in Israel. But they all have one goal in common; to destroy Israel and proclaim an independent Palestine state instead.

3.3 Israel's conventional warfare past

Israel is no stranger to war, be it the conventional or the unconventional type. They have engaged in warfare even before Israel was formally declared as an independent state. All of their conventional types of warfare were against the surrounding Arab states in the Middle East. Egypt, Syria and Jordan are amongst the states they had to take arms up against.

Interestingly, one should ask the question of how Israel, being a young established state, gets the funding and help it needed to establish the strong and well – trained military force it had and still has today. Especially one that was capable of fighting

against large countries having established military structures, especially those in the desert. How did Israel, a small and young state in the Middle East manage to conquer the Arab states that surround it? The superpowers of the world were very involved in the Middle Eastern affairs. One can make the assumption that Arab states and Israel were used as proxies for the superpowers. It is no secret that Russia and the United States mistrusted each other. Is it a coincidence that Russia funded the Arab states to develop warfare weapons, whereas the Americans were the main contributor to Israel for military growth and expansion?⁶

It is believed that India, Pakistan, Israel, Egypt, Syria and others were able to fight superpowers' wars by proxy. These countries were seen as laboratories where new weapons were tried out and new doctrines were put to the test (Creveld; 1991:56). To illustrate this point one can look at when the war in 1973 was fought in Israel. President Nixon put the American Forces on nuclear alert. He did this in order to stop an alleged Soviet threat to Israel. Israel has also developed an indigenous weapons industry. They also admitted to a nuclear capacity.

3.4 Low – Intensity Conflict

Van Creveld (1991:22) explains the nature of low intensity conflict in his book “**The Transformation of War**”. To explain the term he uses characteristics of Low – Intensity Conflict. Looking at the characteristics of this kind of warfare, one can easily see the similarities it has with the situation in Palestine. He lists the characteristics of low – intensity warfare to unfold in “less developed” parts of the world. “Less – developed countries” are usually those known as third world countries in the Cold War. These include Africa, the Middle East and some South American countries. These countries' economic status is usually very poor and so are the majority of the people who live in them, compared to “developed countries” like Britain, United States of America, and the Western countries of Europe.

⁶ It was known that in countries like those in the Indo – Pakistani and border and Middle East couldn't manufacture their own arms. States of these regions were linked to superpowers (Creveld; 1999:11)

Small – scale armed conflicts⁷ that do not take place in “developed” countries are usually known under a variety of other names, like “terrorism”, “police work”, or as in the case of Northern Ireland, “troubles”. In “less – developed” countries these incidents mentioned above are usually a major concern, since these low – intensity conflicts usually lead to victory for the side using LIC. Low – intensity conflict is invariably used by actors who are not states. These actors describe themselves as representing “a people”. But they are people without a state, (or a government) and sometimes not even an army. These conflicts often occur in “less – developed countries”. Although Israel is by no means an underdeveloped country, it is not totally developed and rather a young established state. There are parts in Israel where people live in total poverty, especially among the Arab/Palestinian community. This makes Israel a prime candidate for low – intensity conflict according to Van Creveld.

By looking at the history of Israel as an independent state, one can see that guerilla warfare and terrorism was the main warfare strategies the *fedayeen* (largest terrorist group and part of *Fatah*, before they joined the PLO) used to ‘fight’ or engage in conflict with the Israeli’s. This is therefore, an illustration of a state (Israel) at war against an organisation claiming to represent a people without a state, government or army. This is an illustration of LIC taking place within a “less – developed country”. The Israeli Defense Force responds to the terrorist acts by destroying homes of suspected terrorists and their supporters. This was seen as a sanction, and was known as “neighborhood punishment” in the past by the Arabs living in the settlements. The Israelis used this tactic to deal with the *fedayeen* and their supporters. This action led to a serious political crisis in 1969 (O’Neill, 1978:68). The ‘neighborhood punishment’ still continues to this day, used as a strategy by the Israeli’s to deal with terrorists, but there is an international outcry regarding this and has forced the Israelis to be more humane.

The second characteristic that Van Creveld mentions is that low – intensity warfare rarely involve regular armies, that is established state armies, on both sides, though often it is a question of regulars on one side fighting guerillas, terrorists and even

⁷ These are usually conflicts where there are not large numbers of weapons, soldiers, people and politics involved and is not conducted in a large scale capacity, as is the case in conventional wars normally including the whole region or state.

civilians, including women and children on the other. Regulars, mentioned above, are normally an established military entity. It does not have to be a state army or police force, it can be a group of people, usually in favour of the government, that fight terrorists or others that threaten the state in a unified manner, by making their dislike of the government and the people supporting it, known by conducting acts of terrorism. Although this may be true for the Palestinians, the same cannot be said regarding the Israeli side. Israel has an established military force that is in constant conflict with the Palestinians/Arabs that do not have a regular army. The Palestinians do have an army known as the PLA (Palestinian Liberation Army) that falls under the PLO, but they usually do not attack the Israeli army as a unified force. It is generally a suicide bomber that spreads terror, although one can assume that they are part of an organised group or terrorist movement, set out to eliminate the Jews of Israel as previously mentioned. The groups that are thought to be responsible for these attacks, are known as *Hamas* and *Hizaballah* and they are suspected to be a branch of the Yasser Arafat's *Fatah* within the PLO. This characteristic also has certain aspects in common with the situation in Palestine. The parties usually involved in low – intensity conflict, are also those that are part of the conflict in Palestine. Innocent civilians on both sides are also involved, which is also a characteristic of low – intensity conflict mentioned by Van Creveld.

The third and last characteristic Van Creveld notes regarding low – intensity conflict, is that most LIC's do not rely primarily on the high – tech collective weapons which are in possession of any modern armed force. Not only have household, healthcare and industrial technology improved over the years, but also so has warfare technology. Today warfare is conducted by relying on computer based war programs, missiles that can trace targets and bomb exact locations, weapons and war machines including aircrafts and tanks, that can move swiftly and without detection and not to mention nuclear and biological warfare. The USA is by far the most technologically advanced in this field, and the other developed countries are not trailing far behind. There are underdeveloped countries, like India, Pakistan and North Korea who have the capacity and means to develop and employ nuclear weapons, which makes warfare today very tricky.

Israel can be seen as one of the most highly militarized in the Middle East. The Palestinians are even less developed on the military front than the Israeli's. It also does not seem as if they are developing and using more modern warfare. Funding could be the problem, or it could be that they see their kind of warfare as being sufficient and adequate for reaching and accomplishing their goal of spreading terror and fear among the Israeli civilians and government. The PLO and their terrorist groups have many supporters in many countries especially in Arab states. These countries do not only support them politically, but financially as well. Russia and China supplied them with training as well as weapons in the past. It is notable that the terrorists never used large – scale conventional weapons. A reason for this could be the environment and terrain, as well as circumstances. The PLO's tactic was terrorism and this is an underground kind of warfare. As little as possible attention should be drawn to their operations and location. Having large – scale military weapons with military vehicles, like tanks and planes, will surely draw attention. This characteristic thus also has relevance to the Israeli/Palestinian situation, regarding the quality and quantity of their warfare machines and weapons.

Van Creveld goes further by stating the low – intensity conflict also been far more bloody and violent than any other kind of war fought since 1945. Taking into account the type of warfare playing off in Israel and with what intensity it is taking place, it is surprising how many casualties there are, especially on the Palestinian side since the beginning of the *Intifadeh* in 2000. This is due to the retaliation the Israeli's engage in after a suicide attack, or at riots in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. This was usually done in order to scare the Palestinians and their leaders and thus to abandon their bombings.

The fact that Israel has more modern and conventional weapons did not mean that they were immune to attack and casualties. Israel is famous for the number and scale of wars she has fought. Israel has lost a total of 14 000 soldiers in the four decades since her existence. Out of those 14 000, between 2 500 and 3 000 lost their lives during the October 1973 war. At that time it was the largest and most modern conventional conflict fought anywhere in the world since 1945. Earlier that century the Israelis lost 6000 soldiers in the "War of Liberation" in 1948 – 49. It is illustrated

by looking at the above, that from the point of view of forces engaged and weapons used, that the war in many ways was itself a “low intensity conflict”.

Later however in 1982, six Israeli divisions with about 1 000 tanks between them, invaded Lebanon. They quickly overran the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation) and reached Beirut after 6 days. The Israeli force also pushed back the Syrians, inflicting a heavy defeat on Syrian air force in particular. 1549 Israeli soldiers died since this full – scale invasion of Lebanon in 1982. Three years later Israel created an occupation zone in the south of Lebanon⁸ in order to protect Northern Israel from attacks launched mainly from the *Hizballah* militia, and other enemies for retaliating for any attacks on civilian targets from across the border (Beyer; 2000:36). This illustrates a more conventional warfare with more modern weapons used than in the past. This conflict was maybe not of a low – intensity nature. After this war, which was to be last conventional warfare since, the *Intifadeh* was initiated by the youth, mainly Palestinian/Arab, within Israel in 2000. They used unconventional weapons against the Israeli Army in riots and uprisings, like throwing stones, using Molotov bombs, slingshots and fighting with sticks, while the Israeli Army had access to military tanks and other conventional weapons. How could these youths overthrow a mighty army that just conquered several states in one war? The Palestinians started to use terrorism as a warfare tactic and this cannot be fought with conventional modern warfare weapons and technology. This conflict between the Palestinians and the Israeli’s is maybe the most threatening and cumbersome. It seems as if the Israeli’s are battling to keep these Palestinian youths at bay and under control.

To understand the strength of the Israeli Army one should look at its humble beginnings. *Palmach* was an elite unit of volunteer youths that later formed the core of Israel Defense Forces. They started as a semi – clandestine organisation under the British rule and were backed by an egalitarian socialist ideology. *Palmach* was sexually integrated to an extent that is rarely seen by other armed forces in the world. Men and women worked and trained together, lived together in adjacent tents and

⁸ In 2000 Israel decided to withdraw from southern Lebanon, ending an 18 – year occupation of the area. The withdrawal meant that the border could become a go – to zone for terrorists. The Israeli defense thus improved their line of defense along their border in order to fend off any attacks from terrorists. (Beyer; 2000:22).

shared the same showers. It was not abnormal for women to accompany men on missions, especially on undercover missions that involved obtaining intelligence, transmitting messages and smuggling arms. When the British left Palestine, the organisation emerged out of the underground and went into action.

3.5 The Palestinian Liberation Movement

The hostility is not from states surrounding Israel like in the past, but within. This can be seen in the activities by terrorist groups operating in the Middle East. These splinter terrorist groups fall mainly under the PLO. The PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation) was the main cause of terrorist and guerilla warfare in the Middle East after the conventional wars against Arab countries. They were particularly active in the late 1970's and early 1980's.

The PLO plays the most prominent role regarding terrorism in Palestine. Terrorism and the PLO cannot be separated and is based on acts of terror to achieve its goals. The PLO may not pose such a great threat, but in the past the Israeli government had great difficulty to control the organisation. Terror in Israel is more ascribed to splinter terrorist groups like *Hamas*, although they are regarded as part of the PLO. Nasser, President of Egypt in 1964, initiated the PLO. The PLO came into existence in a time when there were several other terrorist groups in operation. The most notorious being the *fedayeen*, which operated through the whole of the Middle East, as well as in other non - Middle – Eastern countries like Europe (Becker; 1984:35).

The first four years of the PLO was a struggle, as they were striving to be regarded as a serious power in the Middle East. After that it underwent a transformation and became a force to be reckoned with. Its sole purpose was the liberation of the Palestinian people. And this was to be obtained through the destruction of Israel. The first president of this organisation was Ahmad Shuqairy, who was a lawyer and came from Acre (Becker; 1984:38).

Soon after his election as President he went out to various capitals of the Arab states to select members to be representatives of the Palestinian community and thus form the Palestinian National Council. He chose people from all walks of life to be

representatives on the council. Interestingly enough, the Israeli – Arabs were not listed as members on the council.

The founding conference was held in May and June 1964 and on 1 June 1964, the PLO declared its resolution. The National Council was to be the sovereign body of the Organisation and would meet regularly. A National Charter and Fundamental Law were drawn up by the President, Shuqairy, and were adopted as the basic constitution. The headquarters were to be in Jerusalem and branches were opened in other Arab cities.

The *fedayeen*, were Palestinians trained by Syria in refugee camps at Lebanon. The establishment of this terrorist organisation was in retaliation to the PLO. Another movement called the Movement for the Liberation of Palestine approached this organisation in Beirut. Yasser Arafat, of the PLO was among the men who approached the *fedayeen*. ‘*Fatah*’ was to be the new name for the terrorist group in which Yasser Arafat served after their first assignments on Israeli targets.

It looked as if the *fedayeen* groups would have finally joined the PLO on March 1968. It was proposed that the Palestine National Congress be reconstituted, where of the 100 members, half would represent the *fedayeen* groups. The *fedayeen* groups rejected this on April 1968. Because of the position the *fedayeen* groups held in the Middle East they were offered almost all the seats at the end of May. This meant the *fedayeen* groups had captured the Organisation. The constitution was changed to a great extent in July 1968.

In February 1969, Yasser Arafat was elected chairman of the PLO on the fifth PNC meeting in Cairo. It took only a year for all the significant *fedayeen* groups to join the PLO. Fatah remained the largest group within the PLO. The groups’ ideologies within the PLO consisted of nationalism, Marxism and Marxist – Leninism. The tendency was thus more left – wing.

Next, the PLO or rather the *fedayeen* organisations threatened Lebanon to establish their own independent power within the country. As soon as they went to Lebanon the violence began. This in the end destroyed the country. Large numbers of *fedayeen*

fighters positioned themselves in the Lebanon countryside and fired upon the Lebanese army patrols. They used the Lebanon border to raid several Israeli targets, while engaging in several skirmishes with the Lebanese.

The PLO started to dominate Lebanon, and spread terror and horror everywhere they went within the country. Damour⁹ was one of the legendary horror stories where the PLO was involved. The Lebanese government was helpless against the PLO and its other Arab allies.

As the PLO grew stronger while in Lebanon, so did their recognition within the Arab League. The PLO was seen as the 'sole representative of the Palestinian people'. They had many relations across the world, in various countries and even trained IRA (Irish Republic Army) terrorists in their camps in Lebanon. Libya, Iran, Central and South America, Afghanistan, China, USSR among others (Becker; 1984:165).

The PLO eventually started to head for a downfall when their once allies, Syria, turned on them in 1976 and joined the Lebanese army to dissemble the PLO in Lebanon. They however had a re-alliance with Syria from 1979 and started to build up their power in Lebanon again with the help of the Soviet Union¹⁰. The Camp David peace process was under way and the PLO was improving their relations with the Western power to uphold an appearance of unity. They then began to launch an attack on Israel with the help of Syria and as a proxy for the Soviet Union.

Israel had to face a three – fold threat from the *fedayeen*, operating under the PLO. Threats were; terrorism within the occupied areas, hit – and – run guerilla attacks in the border regions and transnational terrorism (O'Neill; 1978:74).

The armed struggle against Israel by the PLO consisted of forms of shelling towns and settlements, and terrorist raids including suicide bombings. The attacks were made on civilians and not on specific military targets. This is typical of the kind of

⁹ This was when the PLO and their allies massacred and slaughtered the Christians of Lebanon in the late 1970's. After the destruction of Damour, it became one of the main PLO centers for the promotion of international terrorism.

¹⁰ The Soviet Union was one of the main suppliers of weapons and artillery to the PLO. They supplied long-range artillery pieces, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, shoulder-fired missiles and anti-tank guns.

warfare the PLO and their terrorist movements engage in. This is also evident in the terror attacks by suicide bombers in Israel. The terrorist attacks the PLO engaged in, in Israel in the 1970's included blowing up apartment buildings, shooting at children, taking hostages in schools, raiding homes and they blew up the Tel Aviv cinema with explosives. Children were often used as targets in the attack against the Israeli's. The Israeli's retaliated by bombing the refugee – camp military bases in Lebanon.

The three threats Israel had to face from the *fedayeen*, mentioned earlier (internal terrorism, border security and transnational terrorism) called for different measures (O'Neill; 1978:74). For internal security (terrorism in occupied territories) they acted by arresting some men from a *Fatah* terrorist ring in October 1976, shortly after trouble began. As the weeks passed, the Israeli's uncovered sabotage rings and cells, with the result that the *fedayeen* could not establish a widespread underground resistance in the occupied areas, and thus had to withdraw most of their personnel across the borders. The Israeli Security Forces employed frequent cordon and search operations after major terrorist incidents. Although it was inconvenient for the local population, this tactic often led to detention of the perpetrators of attacks.

To deal with guerilla raids and terrorism, a series of coercive measures were taken. The guerilla threat was handled mainly by the IDF (Israeli Defense Force) (O'Neill; 1982:392) In the Gaza Strip, the Southern Command from the Israeli Defense Force adopted a strategy of surprise, and movement of its security forces to keep the *fedayeen* off balance and disorientated. By abandoning routine movements, Israeli patrols operated at different times and along different routes. Although this strategy was in a sense successful, there were still incidents of terrorist attacks and bomb blasts.

For the border security threat, the Israelis had to implement territorial and mobile defense measures. In order to deal with and control *fedayeen* infiltration and their hit – and – run raids along the borders, Israel combined a nomadic, territorial offensive in its own area of control with attacks against sanctuary countries. The Israelis removed selected Arab villages, introduced small – unit patrolling, and constructed security fences and had mobile pursuit of infiltrators seeking to flee across the border.

The nomadic territorial offensive was facilitated by the construction of a security fence along the Jordan River in order to control the raids from terrorist groups from across the border. The barriers consisted of mines, trip wires, and other devices along a fifty – mile strip from the Dead Sea to the Beisan Valley. Together with the territorial offensive, the Israeli's also used mobile strike forces for the pursuit of guerillas who were within the occupied areas and trying to escape to sanctuary countries. Mobile forces that were moved by ground vehicles or helicopters were also employed upon occasion against guerilla locations in Jordan and Lebanon. Another tactic designed to inflict losses on the *fedayeen*, was the stepped – up use of air strikes against guerilla positions.

An upsurge of transnational terrorism outside the Middle East by PLO terrorist groups reared its head from the 1960's onwards. Beirut was the base for the *fedayeen* to launch various terrorist attacks across the globe. The Israelis' impulse was to launch an attack on Lebanon, the country from where the terrorists depart. There was however strong criticism on an international scale, and Israel suspended similar counteractions for a period of time, turning rather to a combination of diplomacy and threats against Arab states in the hopes of preventing such terror in the future. By looking at the number of incidents that took place in the following years, one can see that the Israeli' were not completely successful in their effort to prevent terrorist attacks outside the Middle East.

The terrorist attacks and military initiatives continue. The tactics of the Israeli Army has become more refined in their desperation for peace and stability in the country. The *intifadeh* continue and another attack by terrorists in Tel Aviv in 2003, is an indication that the Palestinians are not willing to give up their dream of an independent state in Israel. Although the Israeli Army was stating that its tactics are more refined than in the past, investigations are proving otherwise.

In 2000, Israel loosely drew up rules of engagement, which permit soldiers to regularly shoot at children. Hostile protesters, younger than 18, were sometimes armed with guns, Molotov cocktails (kind of petrol bomb), stones and slingshots. These incidences are seen as threatening by the Israeli Army and justify shooting at them. These situations give the Army a “green light” to shoot. Army regulations state

that in regular situations, a soldier should shout a warning before shooting and the first shots must be aimed at the legs. But the situation changes when Palestinians open fire on Israelis. There is no need for warning and orders, state to shoot to kill right away. When dealing with children in a riot the Israeli's usually use rubber bullets, but these can be fatal in certain circumstances. The Israeli Army has thus steered away from ironclad rules of engagement and has left the field troops with the decision to react accordingly (Rees, 2000:35).

In 2001 Ariel Sharon, Prime Minister of Israel initiated a battle plan in response to the terrorist attacks sowing havoc in Israel. His plan consisted of phases following upon one another. In phase one, there are to be shelling by tanks or helicopter missiles of Palestinian Authority security bases. If Arafat does not accede to Sharon's demands for an end to the violence, the bombing will continue. Assassination of Palestinian leaders will be the next resort. The target of the assassinations will be senior, but not prominent Palestinians. The next phase will be to seal off villages and conduct house – to – house searches for weapons. The movement of goods, except food, fuel and medicines, will be the next target. This will result in a further stagnation of the Palestinian economy. Phase three will be to declare the Palestinian Authority an "enemy". Here Israel will view any building or official linked to the P.A as a target (Rees; 2001:30).

The first two phases has already been implemented and has resulted in little success. The third phase is evident in the house arrest of Palestinian Liberation leader Yasser Arafat in his headquarters in Ramallah in 2002.¹¹

In 2002 Ariel Sharon again tried to implement a battle plan to try and quell the violence spreading in Israel. His battle plan code – named *Determined Path* was a step up from *Defensive Shield*, a plan that entailed Israeli forces to pick up or kill all *Hamas* men they knew of in the West Bank and those who has mastered the skill of the precise formulas for homemade explosives. When *Defensive Shield* did not

¹¹ On Good Friday 2002 the Israeli Force – 100 armored personnel carriers, 60 tanks and 2500 soldiers encircled Arafat's compound in Ramallah, placed him under house arrest. Sharon stated that Israel would officially identify Arafat as an enemy, "isolate" him in his Ramallah headquarters, destroy the surrounding buildings and arrest or kill Palestinian militants they believed had holed up inside. They would not however kill Arafat or raid his bunker. This spurred renewed violence throughout Israel in support for Arafat. (Ratnesar; 2002:18)

produce the results expected and the violence continued, *Determined Path* was brought to the forefront. Sharon threatened to occupy parts of the West Bank ceded to the Palestinian control under the Oslo peace accords. This was to be done indefinitely as long as the terror continues (Rees; 2002:17). This showed the desperation on the Israeli side.

3.6 Conclusion

By looking at the parties involved in the conflict, namely the Israeli Military and the various terrorist groups under the PLO, one can see the kind of warfare each engages in. The history of these two parties greatly determines how and why they use the tactics they do. The Palestinian terrorists' kind of warfare is very effective and the Israeli, with all their military know - how and technology cannot seem to combat the threat of suicide bombers. It seems as if the conflict in Israel is of a low - intensity kind, according to Van Creveld's study. The conflict in Palestine needs to be addressed as quickly and efficiently as possible. Innocent civilian lives on both the Arab and Jew side are at stake.

CHAPTER 4: THE BATTLE FOR JERUSALEM: THE ARAB AND JEWISH CLAIM FOR OWNERSHIP

“The book of Psalms calls Jerusalem the City of God and Zechariah calls it the City of Truth – but whose God and whose Truth?” (Mairson; 1996:1).

4.1 Introduction

When it comes to the religion of the two civilizations, Jerusalem is the perfect example of how religion influences the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. This chapter illustrates how religion plays a prominent part in each civilization’s culture. Huntington’s theory on fault lines is also evident in this chapter. Here religion can be seen as the fault line along which conflict is taking place. Here the conflict is about certain holy sites in Jerusalem. The conflict arises where the same holy site has different religious significance for each of the civilizations.

Religion plays a major role in the actions of the Palestinians. To become a martyr is the ultimate reward for them. To understand the religious differences between the two conflicting civilizations one must look at Jerusalem. Both Jew and Muslim value this city. Both Palestinian and Israeli want this city to be the capital of their independent state. This independent state is the cause Palestinians are prepared to die for. The most notable attribute of the Muslims are that they are not afraid of death, knowing that there is a just reward for them by God when they arrive in heaven. In order to answer the research question, one must look at Jerusalem with its religious significance, in order to understand what a major role religion plays within the Palestinians culture and thus their actions.

Jerusalem is derived from the Hebrew words for “city” and “peace”, thus implying Jerusalem to be the “City of Peace”. In all the existence of Jerusalem, it has been anything but peaceful. The conflict still reigns, as it had centuries ago. In 2000 a riot broke out in Jerusalem at *Temple Mount* and was known as *Haram al – Sharif* by the Arabs. The conflict was about the sovereignty and ownership of *God’s Mount*. Ariel Sharon visited this holy place two weeks prior to the unrest to boost his political support and assert Israeli rights to the land. The Arab people however saw this as an

act of political arrogance and it triggered an outburst. The Arab population came to know the uprising as the “*Aqsa Intifadeh*”. The uprising of *al – Aqsa Mosque* on the *Mount* killed at least 80 people and left nearly 2000 injured. The unrest continued at the site of the Israeli – controlled *Joseph’s Tomb* at Nablus (Rees; 2000:40 – 41)

Jerusalem is probably the place neither party, Jew or Arab, is prepared to negotiate on. Almost as important as an independent Palestine, is the ownership of Jerusalem and its holy sites with its religious significance. The Jewish, Christian and Muslim people attribute a large degree of significance to the city. Through the centuries the holy sites had been destroyed through regime changes and battles. Since then it has been rebuilt or new sites have been constructed, depending on the type of regime, Roman, Arab or Christian. Since then, the conflict continues between mostly the Muslim and Jewish religions over who ought to have ownership on specific holy places. In this chapter the significance of Jerusalem to the two different religions, in the conflicting civilizations, will be explained. The reason for conflict will also be highlighted. The dispute about Jerusalem and its holy places is rooted in history and is thus an age old conflict.

4.2 Occupation of Jerusalem over the ages

In order to understand what the significance of Jerusalem is to each religion, it is important to give a brief description of the history of Jerusalem and how each religion came to be. Jerusalem was founded during the Bronze Age (Fritz; 1995:122), but the significance of Jerusalem for the Jews started at the First Temple period, which was from 1000 – 586 B.C. In this period, after some 800 years, Abraham nearly sacrificed his son (Isaac), David captured Jerusalem and made it the capital of the Israelite kingdom. King Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem in 586 B.C. This happened 400 years after David’s son (King Solomon) built the First Temple. He then burned the Temple and exiled the Jews to Babylon.

The second Temple Period was between 538 B.C. – A.D. 70. In this period King Cyrus allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem. Then in A.D. 30, during turmoil and Jewish resistance to the Roman occupation, *Jesus* entered Jerusalem, confronted the

high priests of the Temple and by order of the Roman procurator was crucified. In A.D. 70 the Romans invaded the city and once again destroyed the Temple.

The Early Arab Period was between 638 – 1099. After some 300 years of control by the Christian Byzantine Empire, and just six years after the death of the Prophet *Muhammad* in 632, Muslims conquered Jerusalem. The Caliph ‘Abd al – Malik erected a shrine – the *Dome of the Rock* – over the Foundation Stone of the Temple, the spot where, in Islamic belief, *Muhammad* ascended to heaven.

In the Crusader period, 1099 – 1187, Pope Urban II rallied Christian soldiers for a three – year military crusade to liberate the Holy City from Muslim rule. After a month – long siege, crusaders captured the city and slaughtered many of its Jewish and Muslim inhabitants. This is when Christians from Syria and the outlining areas of Palestine started to settle in the northeast quadrant of the city (known as the Christian quarter).

The Ayubids and Mamluks reigned from 1187 – 1450. 1187 was the beginning of another Muslim era. This commenced when Saladin defeated the crusaders in 1187. By 1219 the city walls were destroyed by order from the Sultan of Cairo. In 1229 a military alliance was sealed between the crusaders and Muslims. The Muslims ceded Jerusalem to the crusaders, with Muslim access to the *Temple Mount* guaranteed. Then after ten years the city would have to revert to the Muslims.

The Ottoman period lasted the longest of all the periods. From 1517 the Sultan Selim I took control of Jerusalem, but very few Ottoman Turks settled in the city. In 1831 the Ottoman Turks lost control over Jerusalem, because of the Egyptian Muslims who rebelled against the sultanate. In 1840 however, the Ottoman Turks regained control and returned to power. In 1917, near the end of the First World War, British troops under Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby drove out the Ottoman Turks from the city.

This introduced British rule from 1917 – 1948. In this period the League of Nations gave Great Britain a mandate to govern Palestine, including Jerusalem. Colonial administrators attempted to divide the city into separate boroughs. The plan failed however, and so did the mandate in the end. In 1928, during the immigration of

thousands of Jews to Palestine, the mufti, who was Jerusalem's Muslim leader at that time, declared that the Jews were intending to take possession of the *al – Aqsa Mosque*. Then, in 1929, riots erupted leaving several casualties on both sides, Arab and Jew. From 1947 – 48 the United Nations called for the partition of Palestine and the internationalisation of Jerusalem. This was known as the UN Resolution 181 of 1947. The Arabs rejected the plan, war broke out and Israel declared its independence.

The last period, is that of Israeli control, that started in 1948 -. In 1949 the Israel War of Independence ended. Jerusalem's western side was controlled by Israel and Jordan controlled its eastern side, including the Old City. After the triumphant victory after the Six Day War in 1967, Israel controlled a reunified Jerusalem, but granted religious control of the *Temple Mount* to the Muslims. In 1980 the Israeli parliament (the *Knesset*) passed a law that reaffirmed that the united Jerusalem is the nation's capital. The Palestinians however repeated claims that Jerusalem will be the capital of their proposed state. Then in 1993 Israeli and Palestinian peace negotiators signed a Declaration of Principles that outlined the terms for Palestinian self – government in the Gaza Strip and Jericho (Mairson; 1996:2).

Looking at the history of the occupation of Jerusalem, one can see the difficulty the two civilizations have in reaching a solution concerning the ownership - dilemma of Jerusalem. The importance of the city has to do with its respective religious significance. Both Jew and Muslim have erected several sites over the ages. To follow is a discussion of the holy sites in Jerusalem and what religious significance each attributes to the City.

4.3 Jerusalem's Holy Sites

Jerusalem is symbolic to various religions. The Jews see Jerusalem as the historical and political capital of their existence as a nation. The Christian people see Jerusalem as a sanctuary that includes the sites of the *Passion* and the *Crucifixion*. Then for the Muslims there is *Al – Quds* that is the third holiest city next to Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. The site of the *El – Aksa Mosque* and the *Dome of the Rock* is from where the Prophet *Mohammed* ascended to *Paradise*. For all three these religions, Jerusalem is the political center and symbol for their striving for full recognition and

independence (Albin; 1991:47). We now enter a discussion on the various holy sites in Jerusalem and the significance of each of them.

4.3.1 *Al – Aqsa Mosque - Dome of the Rock Mosque*

The Dome of the Rock is one of the most beautiful achievements of Islamic architecture. It is also the earliest dated building extant in the Moslem world (Shanks; 1995:234). Moslem *Al Aqsa* has been regarded by the Muslim world as the third holiest sites in Islam, next to Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. This is where in Islam belief, Prophet *Muhammad*, founder of Islam, made his Night Journey from the *Masjid al – Haram* in Makkah. He ascended on the Mi'raj through the heavens to his Lord from this site on his horse, Buraq. This was regarded as the only miracle Muhammad performed. *Al – Aqsa* has dominated the life of the Holy City for thirteen hundred years. This has been the centre of pilgrimage for Muslims from all over the world. The existence of *Al – Aqsa* has however been threatened for twenty years since the 1980's. The history of *Al – Aqsa* is as follows;

In 638 Jerusalem's thousand years of recurrent religious persecution, intolerance and oppression were brought to an end when Omar ibn al – Khattab, the Second Khalif of Islam, entered *al – Quds*. The people of Jerusalem surrendered their city after a brief siege, eager to be rid of their Byzantine overlords and because of their shared heritage with the Arabs. They had one condition however, which was that their terms of surrender be negotiated directly with the Khalif Omar. When Omar and four thousand of the Companions of the Prophet reached the area of the *Noble Sanctuary*, they found it covered in rubbish. Omar then used his cloak and filled it with the debris. Those with him did the same and they disposed of it and returned until the whole area where *Al – Aqsa* now stands was cleared. The great rock from where the Prophet's ascension to heaven on the Night Journey took place, lay in the center. After the rock was uncovered the ground was purified. A timber mosque that held three worshipers was erected on the site of the *Aqsa Mosque*.

Fifty years after that, at the end of the 7th century, the mosque was given to the Umayyad Khalif, Abdul Malik ibn Marwan, to construct a shrine over the rock. The *Dome of the Rock*, as the shrine is known, is a tribute to the Muslims' love and respect

for the site. After the *Dome of the Rock* was completed, another construction began on the site of the original timber mosque at the south end of the Sanctuary. The construction was for a mosque that could accommodate over 5000 worshippers and became known as *Masjid al – Aqsa* (*al – Aqsa Mosque*). The entire *al – Haram al – Sharif* is considered the *Al – Aqsa Mosque*. The *Noble Sanctuary* was to become a centre of learning where scholars came from all over the world to worship at *Al – Aqsa* and to study and teach within its precincts.

The *Dome of the Rock* is also known as the *Mosque of Omar* and is the oldest extant Islamic monument today. The Jewish believe that the site is where Abraham, the first patriarch of the Hebrew people, prepared to have his son Isaac, sacrificed (<http://members.tripod.com>: 1-4).

4.3.2 *Western Wall – Claimed Jewish Site in Jerusalem*

The *Western Wall/Wailing Wall* is the western wall of the *Al – Aqsa Mosque*. The Jewish people believe that this is all that is left of the ancient Jewish Temple, which was destroyed by the Romans nearly 2000 years ago and where, for centuries, orthodox Jews bewailed the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans (Kenyon; 1967:142). There is a dispute among archaeological research whether the *Western Wall* is indeed part of the ancient Jewish Temple. Some archaeological research claims that the wall dates from about the second century B.C, although the upper sections of the wall were added at a later stage. The site of the *Temples*, crowned the ancient Kingdom of the Hebrews and the destruction sent the Jews into an exile that lasted two thousand years and only ended with the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. The Jews know the area above the wall as *Temple Mount*, where the *Aqsa Mosque* stands.

There is conflict over the wall since the wall now forms part of a larger wall that surrounds the Muslim *Dome of the Rock* and *al – Aqsa Mosque*. The Jews and Arabs have long fought over the control or the right of access to the wall. The Jews pray for the restoration of the *Temple* at the *Western Wall*. The *Western Wall* is also known as the *Wailing Wall*, a name given by European travelers who saw the mournful vigils of Jews before the relic of the sacred *Temple* (<http://members.tripod.com> 1 – 4).

Every Friday afternoon at the start of the Sabbath, Israelis head for the *Wailing Wall* to pray, and leave messages in the crack of the wall, believing that the wall gives direct access to God's ear. It is believed by the Jewish people that the Third Temple must be built in order to welcome in the Messianic era. A group of Ultra Orthodox believes the temple should be built as soon as possible (<http://www.megastories.com>, 1 – 2).

4.3.3 Holy Sepulcher – Christian Site in Jerusalem

This site is the tomb in which *Jesus* was buried, as well as the church built on the traditional site of his Crucifixion and burial. The Bible states that the tomb was close to the place of Crucifixion.

The Church is located in the northwest quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. Constantine the Great at around AD 336 first built the church. It was burned by the Persians in 614 and restored by Modestus. The crusaders in the 12th century rebuilt the church. The present church dates back to 1810. Since the 4th century this site is known as the place where Jesus died, was buried and rose from the dead. Today various Christian groups, including the Greek, Roman, Armenian, and Coptic churches, control parts of the present church and conduct services regularly at the site (<http://www.palestinehistory.com>: 1-5).

4.4 Solutions for Jerusalem?

It is evident that the case of Jerusalem is a troublesome one. There are two different religions, with two different holy sites, but it is situated on the same location. This is bound to cause some friction between the two civilizations. And this was seen in the *Battle of the Mount* in 2000, where many lost their lives in skirmishes between Palestinian youths and the Israeli police (Rees 2000: 40 – 43).

Two solutions have been laid on the table, but the Israelis and Arabs, have rejected both. One of the solutions is to divide Jerusalem physically between the Arabs and Israeli's. Albin (1991) explains in her article "*Negotiating Indivisible Goods: The Case of Jerusalem*", how a division can be problematic. This is so especially if a division will mean the loss of value of the good. A second proposal is that of

internationalisation of Jerusalem. This solution also harbors difficulties and glitches. Both the Arabs and Israeli reject this plan and agree not to have outsiders run Jerusalem.

4.5 Dividing Jerusalem

Albin (1991:47) describe the case of Jerusalem as a case of an “indivisible” good. She defines an indivisible good as that which cannot be split physically into parts, and concerns that cannot be compromised on, without losing much of their perceived value. The case of Jerusalem does not only consist of dividing holy sites, but also sub - issues such as sovereignty and access. Certain “indivisibles” can be physically divided, like the four quarters of the Old City (Christian, Muslim, Jewish and Armenian) and East and West Jerusalem. The problem with this however is that such an outcome would mean losses of value or at least the perception of the parties will be that of loss in value.

Albin (1991:48) distinguish between three types of “indivisibles” in her article. The first type is that of core human needs and their values. This type of “indivisible” has to do with the fulfillment and preserving of fundamental human needs and values; these include ethnic identity, social security, recognition on various fields, control of ones life, justice in the legal sense and social meaning. Normally in this kind of conflict one side’s needs go unfulfilled. In the conflict for Jerusalem one can see the element of identity recognition. The emphasis the Israelis place on maintaining political control over the city can be seen as a concern for security of the Jewish and Israeli identity, rather than having control. For the Palestinians control over East Jerusalem may reflect the need for achieving outside recognition for their separate identity as an independent nation.

The second type of “indivisible” Albin (1991:49) lists is that of goods that is “indivisible” by nature. Here the good lose much of their value and utility if it is divided physically, meaning a division that can be seen to the naked eye. For Albin these types of conflicts are easily reconcilable, since parties may be more willing to give away the entire good in exchange for something else. The Old City of Jerusalem cannot be physically divided with barriers, without sacrifices. The reason is the values

attached to it, and by the nature, its smallness and compactness. The parties involved in the conflict agree that there must be unity of Jerusalem's geographic space, irrespective of the overall political solution for the Eastern and Western side of Jerusalem.

The most important type of indivisible goods, Albin (1991:50) lists, are those having a linkage to core human needs and people's values. Here an unbreakable bond is established between the entire good and the underlying needs that lend it value. In this case the good cannot be divided physically without losing much of its worth. The core needs are intertwined with the good and thus creates nonnegotiable interests in some kind of control or use of the good. To give up part of a territory which has values and needs connected to it would imply that a compromise on the concerns connected to the territory would also be inevitable.

For both the Israelis and Arabs, Jerusalem is an integral part of their people's land, history, and ethnic – religious identity. Jerusalem is thus a "good" with specific values that makes it of the utmost worth to both parties. For each party involved, some kind of control and access is a necessity. The fact is that neither party is prepared to divide Jerusalem. Not only do the Israelis and Arabs oppose division, but also the Western World. The consensus on the indivisibility of Jerusalem poses the essence of the problem. Albin (1991:52) lists these problems. First, not one party will regard a physically separated good as fulfilling its needs in the city. A piece by itself is of little value as where control over or access to that same piece within a whole will be of more value.

The second problem posed is that the majority of Israeli Jews and some Palestinian groups equate Jerusalem's physical indivisibility with political indivisibility. This contributes to the explanation of the difficulties in reaching an agreement on the key issue of sovereignty.

Albin (1991: 53) lists a few options to solutions for the division of Jerusalem. The basic principle is that both parties involved in the conflict must gain from the negotiations. It must thus be a win – win situation. She mentions a pro – Jordanian proposal that uses the concept for a Greater Jerusalem to create *Al – Quds* consisting

of *al – Haram al – Sharif* (the noble Sanctuary) as a symbolic capital, on which both the Palestinian and Jordanian flags will be waved. The rest of the Jerusalem will serve as Israel's capital. Another option proposed is that the city must include two capitals and that a capital consists of areas that are not necessarily adjacent and that may even overlap with the zones of the other capital.

She also mentions strategies to base solutions on (Albin; 1991:59). The exchange strategies she mentions include compensation where for a party for whom a function of a good has lesser worth receives something it values more in return for letting another party exercise that function. Another strategy is that of the linkage of issues where there are trade concessions on differently valued issues. This facilitates an agreement by allowing a party to exchange concessions on its lower – priority issues, that is of more significance to the other party involved.

The other type of strategies mentioned are functional strategies (Albin; 1991:64). These include sharing, where it leads to options in which parties jointly exercise a function of the indivisible and division, where parties agree to separately exercise a particular function of the indivisible while preserving its physical unity. The Jerusalem example of this is that in the Old City, each religion administers its respective holy sites autonomously under Israeli rule.

The last type of functional strategy is delegation. This is where parties need to agree to transfer a function of the indivisible to an outside actor. This strategy usually results from a failed attempt at the other abovementioned strategies. The internationalisation, (placing the city under international rule) of the Old City in Jerusalem is an example of the delegation strategy. The internationalisation of Jerusalem is however rejected by the majority of the Palestinians and most of the Israelis in Jerusalem. This is due to the mistrust the two parties have for each other and any outside bodies (Albin; 1991:68, 70).

Following, is a discussion on the proposed internationalisation of the Old City and how it came to be an option, which was rejected in the end.

4.6 Internationalisation of Jerusalem

All that is needed to internationalise Jerusalem would be a decision by the United Nations. The proposal to internationalise Jerusalem in 1947 (UN General Assembly 181 of 1947) was not implemented due to the rejection by both the Palestinians and Israeli's at the time. But the debate of internationalisation is still a prime proposal for the resolution regarding the conflict over Jerusalem. As it is, the United States and other major countries do not recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Jerusalem's holy sites are of symbolic importance, not only for the Jews and Arabs within Israel, but also those living abroad with a religious affiliation with Jerusalem. This is the reason for proposed internationalisation. A war in Israel and Jerusalem can yet destroy those holy places so dear to many over the world.

Since the independence of Israel, Jerusalem was governed as its capital, although as stated above, many countries do not regard or accept this to be so. Israel had themes that would be central to its policies regarding Jerusalem (Sharkansky; 1992:18). Jerusalem was to be maintained as a united city and the capital of Israel with a sizeable Jewish majority. A division of Jerusalem thus is not negotiable. The Israelis wanted a majority within Jerusalem that would ensure control and dominance within the city. After the 1967 war, Israel left a number of Arab settlements outside the city and made preparations for large vacant areas that would serve as Jewish neighborhoods.

A second goal the Israeli government wanted to reach was to justify Jewish rule. This policy was aimed at increasing support for Israeli insistence that Jerusalem was to be its capital. This policy however allowed that the control of holy places would be by their own congregations. The problem with this was that a Jewish regime could not give in to Muslim demands for exclusive control of *Haram al – Sharif* that would deny Jews the right to what they call *Temple Mount*. The other major concern was the demand of the right - wing parliamentarians to pray on the *Temple Mount*. The problems do not only arise between the Arabs and the Jews, but among the other religions as well. An example of this was the situation between the clergy of the *Holy Sepulcher* and some Jews who moved into an empty building near the church before Easter 1990 (Sharkansky; 1992:21). There is a belief that leaving the administration

of Christian and Muslim sites in foreign hands would serve to minimize friction between the city's communities.

The Vatican supported the internationalisation of Jerusalem in the past. This was done in order to protect their interest in the Holy Places. In the past, before 1948, Jerusalem was one city. After the British Mandate that ended in 1948, the UN initiated a resolution (Resolution 181) that Jerusalem was to be two states, one Arab and the other Jewish. The city would be administered by the United Nations. The Jews of Jerusalem accepted the partition plan to internationalise Jerusalem for the sake of an independent state. The Arabs however flatly rejected the partition saying that there would be no Jewish state and no UN supervision of Jerusalem. The partition was thus not implemented.

On the 5th of May 1948 when Israel was born, the Jordanian Arab Legion captured Jerusalem and bombarded the Old City's Jewish quarter. Then the destruction of many Jewish holy sites, like their synagogues, began. By the 28th of May the conquest was completed and many Jews were expelled from the Old City. For the following 19 years Jerusalem was to be divided. The Western side of Jerusalem was Israel's capital, while Jordan annexed East Jerusalem.

In Article VII of the armistice agreement between Israel and Jordan in 1949, the Arabs guaranteed "free access to the Holy Places and cultural institutions and use of the cemetery on the *Mount of Olives*. This was however not to be the case. For 19 years no Jew was allowed to visit the *Western Wall* or the cemetery on the Mount of Olives or any other site in East Jerusalem. The Israeli Arabs were likewise barred from the Old City's Muslim shrines.

Again in the Oslo II agreement in 1995, the Palestinians promised to "ensure free access to Jewish Holy sites" on land given up by Israel. The same promise was made in the Gaza – Jericho accord in 1994 and the Hebron accord in 1997. This was to be a lie as well, because many holy sites dear to the Jewish were burned down or destroyed (Jacoby; 2001:2). This was enough to establish a fear among either Arab or Jew, over the ownership of Jerusalem and its Holy Sites. The past has shown that neither party can be trusted with their promises.

4.7 Conclusion

The history of the Old City is strewn with controversies. The conflict is not easily reconcilable. The case of Jerusalem is nearly impossible to solve unless both civilizations are willing to compromise on several issues and traditions. This means cultures and identities would come into play. What happened in the past cannot be undone. So the only solution is to change what has been done to the better for both civilizations so that a future can be built on the changes made. It is evident that both civilizations in the conflict are not in favour of internationalisation and the involvement of outside parties. They both however agree that Jerusalem should stay united and not divided between Muslim and Jew.

Holy sites in Jerusalem define, embody and represent civilizational identity to the Jews of Israel and to the Palestinian Muslims. To compromise on who governs these sites is to compromise on civilizational identity, the most difficult concession that can be made, in their view.

The solution can only be found between the two parties. The tricky part is to get them together and to accept that a solution has to be found soon and also to realize that this cannot be done without some sacrifices

CHAPTER 5: ATTEMPT AT PEACE: LOOKING AT SOME MAJOR PEACE ATTEMPTS IN THE PAST SINCE INDEPENDENCE.

5.1 Introduction

Attempts at peace between the Israeli's and Palestinians have been made in the past. But it seems as if these do not hold water. In these peace processes demands were made and rejected by both parties. One can clearly see what the Palestinians want and what they are fighting for, when examining demands made at the negotiating tables. These are the demands they are willing to sacrifice their lives for by becoming suicide bombers. In this part of the study the peace processes will be highlighted in order to show the issues these two different civilizations are fighting for, and why. By looking at the different peace processes, one can also detect the various fault lines along which friction occurs between these two civilizations. A discussion on the peace processes in which Israel and other Arab countries were involved, will also be discussed in order to highlight the peace process these neighbouring states were involved in since independence. The pressing issue however, is of a domestic nature.

Israel is no stranger to the peace process. From the time of independence, not a decade has passed without an initiation of a peace document of some sort¹². Most of Israel's peace documents related to the wars she fought with the surrounding Arab States. But the more pressing issue is that of peace with the Palestinians within Israel

The *2003 Roadmap to Peace* unveiled by President George W Bush of the United States of America was drawn up by co – sponsors Russia, the European Union and the United Nations. The US President in his remarks on this new peace initiative said that the Palestinian state must be a reformed, peaceful and democratic State that abandons forever the use of terror. In turn the government of Israel, as the terror threat is removed and security improves, should take concrete steps to support the emergence of a viable and credible Palestinian State, and to work as quickly as possible toward a final status agreement (www.whitehouse.gov) The initiation of this peace plan shows that the parties involved are not totally despondent about the situation in Palestine and

¹² See Appendix A at the end of the study

are prepared to give peace another go. This peace plan offers a timetable to arrive at a Palestinian state, and is to take place in three phases if accepted by the parties involved namely Ariel Sharon and Mahmoud Abbas, elected Palestinian Prime Minister in 2003¹³.

Following is an overview of some of the most memorable peace processes between Israel and her neighbours, starting when Israel was granted her independence as the Jewish state in the Middle East.

5.2 Peace Processes

5.2.1 1947: Partition Resolution 181 (UN)

When the time arrived for the British to evacuate Palestine, they knew this would spark renewed violence between the Palestinians and the Jews. The British called for United Nations help and thus Resolution 181 was initiated¹⁴.

The Resolution was based on the premise that, independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem would come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of British armed forces¹⁵. The administration of the states was to be conducted by a commission comprising of one representative from each of the five Member States of the UN at that time. The existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites were guaranteed under the resolution. There was to be freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship.

The Resolution made provision for specific boundaries of the Arab and Jewish States¹⁶

The Palestinians however rejected this offer, because while the population was to be (only half) Jewish, with the Jewish owning less than 10% of the Jewish state land

¹³ See Rees, M (2003) "Travel'n man" in *Time Magazine* May 12, for details on the plan.

¹⁴ See Appendix C for division of Palestine under the British Mandate

¹⁵ See Appendix E for division of Palestine under the U.N Partition plan.

¹⁶ See Resolution 181 of 1947 on www.knesset.gov "Peace Process Documents"

area, the Jews were to be established as the ruling body. By denying the Palestinian Arabs, who formed the two-thirds majority of the country, the right to decide for themselves, the United Nations had violated its own character (<http://www.cactus48.com/partition>). By rejecting this, Israel was on its way to become a very powerful and independent actor in the international sphere (Benvenisti, M:1990:126).

5.2.2 1949: *Armistice Agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria*

These agreements between the four Arab states and Israel, was to determine Armistice Demarcation Lines to delineate the lines beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties would not be allowed to move. This agreement was initiated shortly after the wars of 1948 between Israel and these countries to regain its territory. The Agreement made provision for no aggressive action by the armed forces – land, sea, or air – of either party undertaken, planned or threatened against the people, or the armed forces of the other.

The Egyptian military Forces in the Al Faluia area had to be withdrawn. Other areas under discussion in the document were the Gaza – Rafa area, Bethlehem – Hebron area and the Al Flauja area¹⁷.

5.2.3 1978: *Camp David Accords (I)*

Ever since the creation of the state of Israel, Egypt had been its most threatening regional enemy and major wars had been fought by the two nations in 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. The first peace agreement was already initiated in 1949.

The “Camp David process” had begun in 1970, which encompassed the 1973 Arab – Israeli war and the Egyptian shift from alliance with one superpower to another. The 1973 war was to be the initial step toward a negotiated agreement. When the war was over, Egyptian and Israeli military officials met to agree on the disengagement of forces. The American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger mediated this process.

¹⁷ See Armistice agreement with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria on www.knesset.gov for details on the conditions for the agreement.

The new stage of negotiations shifted to Geneva. Israel, Egypt, Syria, and representatives of the Palestinians were to meet in an attempt to conclude a settlement of the Arab – Israeli conflict. But the Geneva talks were stalled. This happened because of the dispute over Palestinian representation. Israel did not want to include the Palestinian Liberation Organisation in the process, while the Arabs insisted that the PLO was indeed the “sole legitimate representative” of the Palestinian people.

Then President Jimmy Carter (US), in a desperate attempt to set forth the peace prospects and to prevent the collapse of the historic initiative, arranged a conference at Camp David in America. Representatives and negotiators from both Israel and Egypt met for thirteen days in September 1978 at Camp David to arrive at two agreements and these were, in effect, bilateral. The one agreement committed Israel to full withdrawal from the occupied *Sinai* in exchange for a peace treaty with Egypt, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. A strong local police force would be established which would include Jordanian citizens. In addition, Israel and Jordanian forces would participate in joint patrols and manning of control post to ensure the security of the border.

The other agreement established a “framework” for making further progress on the West Bank and Gaza. The negotiations would follow to establish Palestinian “autonomy” on the West Bank and Gaza for a five – year period, during which further negotiations would eventually determine the final settlement of the outstanding issues. The first agreement brought tangible results, but the second however remained only symbolic (Telhami; 1990: 6-7).

5.2.4 1993: Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements

This peace process is more commonly known as the Oslo Accords. The peace process was christened with this name because of the city in Norway where the negotiation processes took place.

The aim of this peace agreement was to establish a Palestinian Interim Self – Government with the Palestinian Authority in control of the departments assigned to

them. Authority for the Palestinian people living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, was to be implemented. This would hopefully have lead to a permanent settlement based on the Security Council Resolution 242 and 338¹⁸.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres signed this agreement. He was the main Israeli component of the secret talks that lead to the Oslo Accords together with the PLO foreign policy spokesman Mahmoud Abbas, also known as Abu Mazan. He later became the Prime Minister of the Palestinian government. Overlooking the discussions was Israeli minister, Yitzhak Rabin, Yasser Arafat from the PLO and US president Clinton (Neff: 1998:1).

The Oslo agenda divided the peace process into an interim phase, to establish limited authority and a final status phase, to discuss more pressing issues such as the Palestinian refugee problem. When the Oslo Accords expired in 1999, the interim phase remained incomplete and the discussion on the final status issues seemed unlikely.

Looking back over the past few years since the agreement has been signed and sealed, one can see few groundbreaking results. It seemed as if Israel never really lived up to the agreement.

The Oslo Memorandum included some of the following provisions¹⁹. There was to be a creation of a Palestinian National Authority and furthermore PNA democratic elections. Secondly there were to be newly recognised Palestinian entities, i.e. the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Thirdly, a gradual withdrawal of Israeli Troops from the Occupied Territories (OCT) was to take place. There was to be a transfer of authority of the OCT from Israel to the PNA over a five – year period, and a final status agreement between both camps based on UN Resolutions 338 and 242 was to be established.

¹⁸ See www.knesset.gov "Peace Process doc." Resolution 242 and 338

¹⁹ See Appendix D for territories where PA was to control.

Two years after the initial Oslo Accords on 28 September 1995, the Israeli – Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip was ratified. Oslo II, as the second document came to be known, detailed the implementation of the second phase of Palestinian self – rule in the OCT. Some of the provisions in this second phase were a gradual withdrawal of Israeli forces from the centers of Palestinian populated areas, and the division of the West Bank into areas A, B and C. Area C, under complete Israeli control, includes 70% of the West Bank whereas Area A, under PA control, makes up only 3%. The remaining area B is under joint Palestinian – Israeli control.

The most pressing issues, like the status of Jerusalem, the future of Palestinian refugees and the right to and boundaries of a future Palestinian state were left unmentioned and set aside for final negotiations.

In the post – Oslo period, the Palestinians within the West Bank and Gaza Strip remains under Israeli military occupation. Jewish settlement continues to be both built and expanded alongside Israeli bypass roads and industrial sites causing the displacement of Palestinians.

There are still curfews, military checkpoints and closure policies that continue to regulate and restrict the movement of the Palestinian population within both Gaza and the West Bank. The Palestinian economy has, and still continues to deteriorate under Israel's closure policy, which effectively prevents normal trade relations between the OCT and with their neighboring states.

These negotiations have been perceived by the world as a step toward “peace” in the Middle East. But, the provisions were never implemented and the day – to – day struggle of Palestinians in the OCT and the terrorism against the Jews, remain (Global Exchange; 2002:1 –2).

5.2.5 2000: Camp David II (PLO and Israel – after Oslo)

The second Camp David peace process took place at the same location, but the party involved together with Israel was different from the one in the first Camp David

Peace Process in 1978. This time it was between Israel and the PLO. This attempt at a peace process was in response to the overall failure of the Oslo Accords after the 5 – year period. Little progress has been made and the need to return to the negotiation tables had arisen again.

President Clinton of the US was to be the mediator between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and PLO President Yasser Arafat. This peace process was not to deliver any progress and was seen as a future attempt to reach an agreement on pressing issues such as Jerusalem and its holy sites.

Arafat was seen as the hardliner in the negotiations where Barak was perceived as more flexible in reaching a compromise. Arafat saw that there was no use in continuing the talks. US Secretary of State, Madeline Albright who looked over the talks while Clinton was to attend the G - 8 Economic summit, said that both of the parties wanted the same thing and that is the control of Jerusalem's eastern half.

Clinton had presented a compromise, which Barak approved if Arafat accepted. This was that Israel would have sovereignty over West Jerusalem and much of East Jerusalem, but the Palestinians would control municipal services in east Jerusalem and have formal sovereignty over some of its neighborhoods. The Palestinians would also control Muslim holy sites. Arafat however turned down this U.S proposal and demanded full sovereignty over all East Jerusalem (Waller; 2000: 32-33).

5.3 Conclusion

It seems as if Israel's prospects of peace within her boundaries seem bleak. The few peace initiatives and processes discussed above is only a quarter of those conducted and attempted over the past decades since independence. It seems as if Israel has reached peace agreements with her surrounding Arab states, those with whom she has fought wars with in the past. But the most pressing issue of peace lies within Israel's borders and is evident in the day-to-day life of every Israeli citizen. The case is clear: two civilizations are in conflict with each other within the state of Israel. The quest for peace between the Jews and Palestinians in Israel has carried on for years and it seems as if the prospect of peace will never be reached.

Who knows, maybe the initiative taken by President George W Bush of America will be the watershed the whole world has been waiting for. The *2003 Roadmap to a Permanent Two - State solution to the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict*, as this initiative is known, may not deliver the results everyone is hoping and wishing for, but the principle of the fact is that the parties involved both see the earnest of the situation and realize that a solution is imminent.

The fact that the Jerusalem issue was never fully addressed in the past means that the issue of civilizational identity was left unresolved and hanging in the air. Neither party's core concern with identity was secured, and uncertainty about this matter persisted. In the previous chapter it was shown how important these two civilizations regard the city of Jerusalem with its significant, symbolic holy sites. Here Huntington's (1993) theory on civilizations and the conflict between them is evident. The struggle for identity recognition within the city is not yet resolved.

It would be a sad day if there were to be no more attempts at peace within Israel. Thus every peace plan, prospect, initiative or negotiation should be supported worldwide, even though the situation seems irreconcilable. One should never give up on peace.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study was conducted in order to answer the research question presented in chapter one. There is no one correct answer as to why Palestinians choose terrorist attacks in order to reach their goals. There are rather several interlinked parts that contribute to their actions. In this study I attempted to highlight and discuss the most prominent ones according to my belief. Each chapter had a different theme discussing the nature of each and linking it to the logic behind the actions of the Palestinians.

This study was conducted within Samuel P Huntington's theory of conflict between civilizations. The two civilizations that were under scrutiny were the Jews/Israeli's and the Palestinians/Arabs within Israel. The fault lines along which these two civilizations "clash" was discussed respectively in four chapters.

The major findings in chapter two regarding the history of Israel, was the issue of ownership that play a major role in the actions, of not only the Palestinians, but the Israeli's as well. This controversial subject originates from the first time people arrived from across the sea to come and settle on the land known as Canaan, in the region of Gaza. Here they formed 5 independent states. The Hebrews arrived later in 1000 B.C. In the end they formed a union under King David. Ever since, the ownership of Israel has changed hands several times. There were Muslim and Roman conquests, Christian Crusades, the Ottoman Empire, the British mandate and the Israeli wars with their Arab neighbors in order to attain and regain territory. The Palestinians make it clear that they are willing to die for an independent Palestinian state.

Religion is also one of the key aspects in the conflict and one of the fault lines along which these two civilizations "clash". In chapter two, the three dominant religions were discussed. *Muhammad* the Muslim Prophet is a very holy symbol for Muslims and the history of Muhammad is prominent in Israel. Israel is thus the land Palestinians feel they belong to, since their forefathers and holy symbols have their origin there.

In Chapter 3 the warfare strategies and tactics of each side were discussed. This chapter contributes to answering the research question by highlighting why, and how, these tactics are used. In order to understand the warfare tactics involved, the history of the organisations were discussed. The military wing of the Israeli state is also highlighted in order to show what the Palestinians are up against.

The issue of unconventional warfare is stipulated throughout this chapter, showing the imbalance of the two sides' warfare methods and weapons. Van Creveld's definition of Low – Intensity Conflict was also discussed in this chapter as it was seen that the Israeli/Palestinian case had relevance to this term. The weapons on both sides, the status of the country (underdeveloped) and the fact that there are no regular armies on the Palestinian side makes the situation one of Low – Intensity Conflict.

Terrorism was also explored, since suicide bombings are regarded as an act of terrorism by the international community. The different groups involved in the attacks like *Hizballah*, *Hamas*, *Fatah* and the *Fedayeen*, their origin and past was also discussed in detail in order to understand how deeply rooted these organisations are within the Palestinian communities and culture. These groups are a known part of the larger organisation known as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. This organisations' history is also very deeply rooted in the past and has become part of the Palestinian identity and culture within the Palestinian civilization. This organisation regards itself as the only organisation able to represent the Palestinian people.

The Palestinians are expected to become suicide bombers, not only by their fellow Palestinians, but also according to the values treasured by their religion. Muslims (the majority of the Palestinians) believe that there is a queue of people waiting to enter heaven, in order to jump the queue one need only be a martyr for your faith. The *Koran* (Muslim Holy text) promises indemnity from death if one sacrifices your life for your religion and Muslim identity. The Palestinians believe that they are doing this because, Allah promised them Palestine and they are sacrificing their lives in order to obtain what they believe is rightfully theirs. Martyrdom also washes away all past sins. Most Palestinians want to be remembered as martyrs who died in order to establish an independent Palestinian state. Together with the desire for an independent state is the need for revenge against the Israeli's. Through the ages Palestinians have

been mistreated by the Israeli's and this mistreatment still continues. They might feel that engaging in suicide bombings and killing innocent civilians will quench their thirst for revenge.

Chapter four is focused entirely on Jerusalem and its religious significance. This chapter is an illustration of how religion plays a prominent role in each civilization. Jerusalem is the most holy city for the Palestinians and Israeli's in Israel. Both civilizations are not willing to give the city to the other, both want full control. If this means spreading terror through Israel to get international attention, then so it will be. The Palestinians want Jerusalem to be the capital of their independent state. If they sacrifice the city (especially Eastern Jerusalem) then the dream of an independent state might just as well be forgotten. This could be the reason the Palestinians are stubborn in negotiating the status of the city. This is one of the major fault lines where conflict continually arises between the Israeli's and the Palestinians. Both Israeli and Palestinian however are not in favour of dividing the city with separate administrative bodies. The proposal of internationalisation also does not sit well with either of the two civilizations

It is also difficult, as with the rest of Israel, to determine the status of the ownership of the city. Just like Israel, Jerusalem also underwent several regime changes. This meant that holy sites of different religions were destroyed to make way for new ones different to the religion of the original one. One can only look at the case of the *Dome of the Rock* to understand the hatred each (Muslim and Jew) must feel towards each other.

My final chapter, chapter five, consisted of an overview of some of the major peace processes and agreements over the past decades since the independence of Israel. Except for the agreement Israel had with her neighboring Arab states, several were attempted with the Palestinians within Israel. The agreements made with the Arab neighbors like Egypt, Syria and Jordan, seem to be successful. The peace attempts with the Palestinians do not seem to share the same outcome. The Israeli's and Palestinians have attempted peace for decades now and still no compromises have been reached. The Oslo accords in 1993 seemed to be the most groundbreaking peace process of that time, but this attempt was futile. The Palestinians where supposed to

establish a Palestinian Authority in the Gaza Strip and West bank, but they were never totally in control of these regions. The objectives to be achieved over a 5 - year period were never reached. This failure lead to the Camp David II peace process which also ended up in a deadlock, where neither party was willing to negotiate on the status and ownership of Jerusalem. Yasser Arafat saw no need for Jerusalem to be divided between the two parties and wanted Jerusalem in its undivided form for the Palestinians.

The 2003 attempt at a peace process mediated by President George W Bush from the United States of America, is known as the *Permanent Two – State Solution to the Israeli – Palestinian Conflict*. Only time will tell if this new approach to peace in the Middle East will prove successful.

I think that in order for peace to reign in Palestine both parties need to let go of the past and focus on the future and the people living there. To eradicate poverty among Palestinians they need to prosper economically. This is impossible if they are constantly monitored and supervised. The more the Palestinians retaliate against the sanctions imposed on them by the Israeli's by conducting suicide bombings, the more the Israeli's retaliate with curfews, raids and other sanctions.

For anyone, to let go of one's past, is to let go of one's identity and pride. This also means abandoning beliefs, religion and culture. This could mean the disintegration of a civilization, but there is a choice. One has to decide which is more important, peace or pride, prosperity or identity. These are difficult choices to make, but one has to realise that there is no perfect world in ones eyes, because it is not perfect in someone else's. Compromises and sacrifices will have to be made in order to find a balance where both sides will be satisfied and start rebuilding what has been lost.

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APPENDIX A: DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE PEACE PROCESS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBOURS

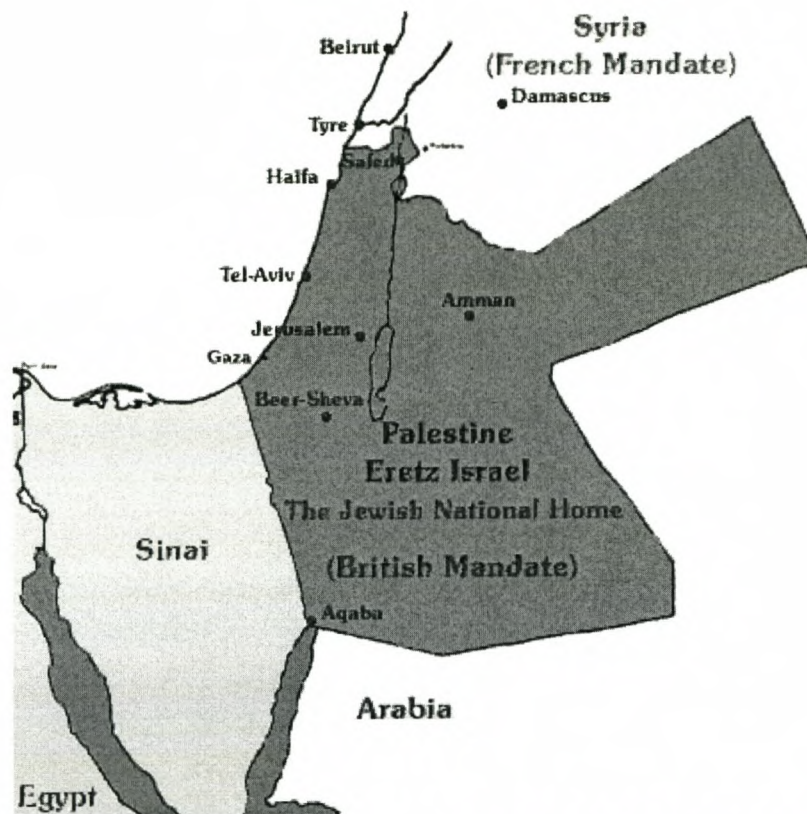
- ▶ **1947**
 - * Partition Plan - UN General Assembly Resolution 181
- ▶ **1948**
 - * UN General Assembly Resolution 194 - Creation of a Conciliation Commission
- ▶ **1949**
 - * Armistice Agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria
- ▶ **1967**
 - * UN Security Council Resolution 242
- ▶ **1973**
 - * UN Security Council Resolution 338
- ▶ **1974**
 - * Separation of Forces Agreement Between Israel and Egypt
 - * Separation of Forces Agreement Between Israel and Syria
- ▶ **1975**
 - * Interim Agreement between Israel and Egypt
- ▶ **1977**
 - * Statement to the Knesset by President Sadat
 - * Menachem Begin's Speech During Anwar Sadat's Visit to the Knesset
 - * Israel's Self-Rule Plan
- ▶ **1978**
 - * UN Security Council Resolution 425
 - * The Camp David Accords
- ▶ **1979**
 - * Peace Treaty Between the State of Israel and the Arab Republic of Egypt
- ▶ **1980**
 - * Venice Declaration
- ▶ **1981**
 - * Fahd Plan
- ▶ **1982**
 - * Israeli Proposal for the Self-Governing Authority in the Territories
- * Fez Plan
- ▶ **1989**
 - * Peace Initiative of the National Unity Government
 - * Mubarak's Ten Point Plan
 - * Baker's Five Point Plan
- ▶ **1993**
 - * Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements
- ▶ **1994**
 - * Cairo Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho Area
 - * The Washington Declaration: Israel - Jordan - The United States
 - * Treaty of Peace Between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
- ▶ **1995**
 - * Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Taba Agreement)
- ▶ **1996**
 - * Israel-Lebanon Ceasefire Understanding
- ▶ **1997**
 - * Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron
 - * Beilin-Eitan Agreement
- ▶ **1998**
 - * The Wye River Memorandum
- ▶ **1999**
 - * The Sharm el Sheikh Memorandum
 - * Protocol Concerning Safe Passage between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip
- ▶ **2003**
 - * Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

APPENDIX B: ISRAEL AND HER TERRITORIES (2003)



<http://www.jpost.com>

APPENDIX C: BRITISH MANDATE (1920 – 1946)






<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/100/maps/>

APPENDIX D: THE OSLO AGREEMENTS



<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/100/maps>

-
-  Area A: Full Palestinian civil and military control
 -  Area B: Full Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian military control
 -  Area C: Full Israeli civil and military control
-

APPENDIX E: UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN 1947



<http://www.jajz-ed.org.il/100/maps>

APPENDIX F: TIMELINE OF PALESTINIAN ISRAELI HISTORY AND THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT

1300? BCE	Migration and conquest of Canaan by the Philistines and Israelite tribes. <u>Map of Canaan.</u>
1000? BCE	Jewish conquest of Jerusalem; <u>reign of David (maps)</u> ; After the death of David's son, Solomon, the kingdom split into two: <u>Israel in the north, Judea in Jerusalem and the south (maps).</u> <u>Brief History of Early Palestine in maps.</u>
721 BCE	Fall of Israel (Northern Kingdom) to Assyria
586 BCE	Fall of Judea (Southern Kingdom) to Babylon
516 BCE	Rebuilding of the Second Temple under Persian rule.
331 BCE	Alexander the Great conquers Persia. The land was subject to Egyptian rule after his death, followed by Seleucid Syrian rule.
166 BCE	Revolt of Judah Maccabee against Syrian Hellenic dynasty
61 BC	Roman conquest of Jerusalem by Pompeii. <u>Land is divided into various provinces (maps).</u>
70 AD	First Jewish revolt. Fall of the Jewish Second Temple to Romans
133-135	Second Jewish revolt under Bar - Kochba crushed. Judea renamed Palestina.
622	Hijra of Mohammed. <u>Islam is founded.</u>
640	<u>Arab conquest</u> of Jerusalem. Land was divided into the <i>Jund</i> of Filastin, in the south (capital in Al-Lod and later in Ramla), and the <i>Jund</i> of Urdunn in the north, with capital in Tiberias (Tabariyah).
1099	Crusaders conquer Jerusalem, slaughter most Jewish and Moslem inhabitants.
1187	<u>Salah-ed-din (Saladin)</u> reconquers Jerusalem
1517	Ottoman Turkish conquest
1799	Napoleon conquers Jaffa but retreats before Acco
1840	Blood libel (accusation that Jews kill Christian children to use their blood for <u>Passover Matzoth</u>) against Damascus Jewry
1843	First Zionist writings of Rabbi Alcala and of Rabbi Kalischer, <i>Emuna Yeshara</i> .
1878	First Zionist Settlement - Petah Tikva
1897	<u>First Zionist Congress</u> in Basle, Switzerland.
July 3 1908	The Young Turks revolt breaks out in the Ottoman empire, and is eventually led by Enver Pasha; Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II is forced to restore the constitution of 1876, entailing the creation of a new parliament, and indirect representative elections. 'Abd al-Hamid is then deposed (27Apr 09), and his brother Mehmet V installed. Policies for the 'Turkification' of the Ottoman territories promulgated through 1909, resulting

	in the creation of societies promoting pan-Arab ideas
1909	Foundation of Tel Aviv by Zionists (Called Ahuzat Bayit) near Jaffa; foundation of first Kibbutz - Degania.
Nov 2, 1917	British issued the <u>Balfour Declaration</u> , viewed by Jews and Arabs as promising a "National Home" for the Jews in Palestine.
Dec 1917	Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby captures Jerusalem from Ottomans for the British. Col. Reginald Storrs is appointed military governor.
Jan. 1919	First Palestinian Congress advocated incorporation of Palestine into greater Syria.
July: 1919	General Syrian Congress (which included prominent Palestinians, Transjordanians, Lebanese & Syrians) held in Damascus, supporting the independence of an undivided Syria, and opposed to Zionism. Britain cedes authority over Syria to France after the congress finishes; Gen. Henri Gourand becomes High Commissioner.
28 Aug 1919	Henry King and Charles Crane, the US members of the <u>International Commission of Inquiry</u> , sent primarily on the initiative of President Wilson, present their report based on their visit to the region in June-July, against creation of a Jewish National home in Palestine.
Feb - Mar 1920	Two Jewish settlements of Tel Hai and Metullah in N. Palestine attacked (Feb 20). Josef Trumpeldor killed in second attack at Tel Hai (March 1)
April, 1920	Musa Kazim al-Husayni, mayor of Jerusalem, is replaced by Raghib al-Nashashibi; clan rivalry grows.
April, 1920	Arab riots led by Haj Amin El Hussein and Aref El Aref in Hebron and Jerusalem. Forty Six Jews Killed.
May, 1921	Arab riots in Jaffa against Jewish population.
June 1920	Haganah, Jewish Self Defense, organized by Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky.
Dec 1920	Histadrut, the General Federation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel (Histadrut Haklalit Shel Haovdim Haivriyim Be'erezt Yisrael), was formed. Remained exclusively Jewish until 1960s, when it officially dropped 'Hebrew' from its name (1966).
July 24, 1922	<u>British Mandate for Palestine</u> ; Official establishment of Transjordan as a separate state; Britain, in military control of Syria, allows French forces led by Gourand to retake Damascus by force.
August, 1929	Arab riots in Hebron, Jerusalem, Safed, Haifa, Motza and elsewhere. The Jews had set up a dividing screen at the Wailing Wall in Yom Kippur of 1928 to separate men and women worshippers, prompting rumors that the Jews wanted to build a synagogue at the wall, which were spread deliberately by Haj Amin El-Husseini. Amid heightening tensions, a demonstration by Jews in 1929 and Arab incitement ignited violence and rioting again Jews. Thousands of Jews fled the ancient Jewish quarter in Jerusalem. The Hebron Jewish community was evacuated after 64-67 was killed in riots.
Oct 21, 1930	British Passfield White Paper proposes to limit Jewish immigration to Palestine.
1936-1939	Arab Revolt led by Haj Amin Al-Husseini. Mostly British killed over 5,000 Arabs according to some sources. Arabs killed several hundred Jews. Hussein fled to Iraq and then to Nazi Germany.

1937-1938	<u>Peel and Woodhead</u> commissions recommend partitioning Palestine into a small Jewish state and a large Arab one.
May 17, 1939	<u>1939 White Paper</u> limits Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 in total, restricts Jewish land purchases, envisions an Arab Palestinian state.
May 9, 1942	Biltmore Program - Zionist leaders, headed by Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion, convene at the Biltmore Hotel in New York and set their postwar program (known as the Biltmore Program). The program was largely written by Meyer Weisgal, but came to be attributed to Ben-Gurion. The meeting was occasioned by increasing reports of murder of Jews in Europe, which made it essential to allow Jewish immigration in Palestine, they felt. The program recommended an end to the British Mandate and demand Jewish control over immigration to Palestine with the aim of founding a Jewish Commonwealth. Implicit in the program was rejection of the binational state program of Mapam (left-socialist), and acceptance of partition of Palestine- anathema to the revisionists and to the Zionist right. However, the need to save European Jewry overrode other considerations, allowing revisionists to rejoin the Zionist movement and accept the loss of Transjordan.
Oct 7, 1944	<u>Arab leaders meet in Alexandria</u> to discuss postwar plans for independence and ways to prevent implementation of Jewish control over Palestine.
Nov 6, 1944	Members of the Jewish Lehi underground <u>Eliyahu Hakim</u> and <u>Eliyahu Bet Zuri</u> assassinated Lord Moyne in Cairo. Moyne, a known anti-Zionist, was Minister of State for the Middle East and in charge of carrying out the terms of the 1939 White paper - preventing Jewish immigration to Palestine by force. The assassination did not change British policy, but it turned Winston Churchill against the Zionists. Hakim and Bet Zuri were caught and were hanged by the British in 1945.
March 22, 1945	League of Arab States set up (Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, with Musa 'Alami as Arab States' chosen representative of the Palestinians) with British approval to shift welfare responsibility onto local population and to ensure continuing Arab support. The goals of the league were as stated in the <u>Alexandria Protocol</u> , of which it was an outgrowth. <u>Charter</u> proclaims goal of achieving closer aims between Arab States and declares that Palestine is a member of the League in a special annex.
July 18, 1947	British rammed the Jewish illegal immigrant ship Exodus (formerly "President Warfield") on the high seas. They towed it to Haifa where it was the subject of extensive publicity, generating public sympathy for the Zionist cause. The passengers were eventually disembarked in Hamburg. The incident set world and particularly US opinion against the British, and cause the British to intern illegal immigrants thereafter in Cyprus, rather than attempting to return them to Europe.
July 22, 1947	Irgun bombed the offices of the Mandate in the King David Hotel, killing 91 persons.
Sept 1, 1947	<u>UNSCOP</u> issues its report, calling for partition of Palestine.
Nov. 29, 1947	<u>UN Partition Resolution (GA 181)</u> - Palestine was to be divided into a Jewish State and an Arab State; Jerusalem was to be internationalized. Arab countries and Arab league refuse to recognize the resolution.
Dec. 1, 1947	Arab riots in Jerusalem. Beginning of Arab blockade of Jerusalem. The period to May 1948 was characterized by numerous skirmishes, road ambushes, riots, bombings and massacres, whether organized by one of the other sides or spontaneous. <u>The Haifa riots and massacres</u> were typical. T

April 6-8, 1948	Arab blockade of Jerusalem is broken temporarily by operation Nachshon. Death of Abd-El-Qader Al-Husseini at Kastel - The foremost Palestinian military leader is shot by a Jewish sentry when he wanders into Jewish held Kastel in the Jerusalem corridor thinking it is in Arab hands.
April 9, 1948	<u>Deir Yassin</u> Massacre - Jewish dissident underground groups - Irgun and Lehi kill over 100 Palestinian civilians in the Jerusalem village of <u>Deir Yassin</u> .
April 13, 1948	Haddassah Convoy Massacre - In retaliation for Deir Yassin, Arabs killed Jewish medical personnel and sick persons on their way to Hadassah hospital.
May 14, 1948	Gush Etzion Massacre - In retaliation for Deir Yassin Massacre, Arabs killed over 50 Jewish defenders at Gush Etzion, after they had surrendered.
May 15, 1948	Israel War of Independence (1948 War). Declaration of Israel as the Jewish State; British leave Palestine; Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia declared war on Israel. Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian invasion began.
June 11, 1948	First truce begins, lasting until 8 July.
June 23, 1948	Irgun's Altalena ship brings weapons and 940 immigrants to Palestine. This was a violation of UN embargo, but Israel government agreed to it, provided the Irgun handed over the weapons to IDF and formed a unified force. Irgun Commander Menahem Begin refused to hand over weapons and Irgun insisted on keeping a portion of the arms for its own use as a separate force. Palmach units of IDF under Yigal Allon attempted to capture weapons by force, killing 14 Irgun men. Yizhak Rabin, in command of shore batteries in Tel-Aviv, was ordered to fire upon and sink the Altalena after it attempted a landing there. According to some reports, factions of the Irgun (Etzel) were planning a coup with the arms.
July 08, 1948	Egyptian army breaks truce, due to end July 9. Attacks from neighborhood of Majdal (Ashdod). Israeli counterattack at Faluja was unsuccessful. This phase of the war is known as "the ten days," and included Mivtza Dani - the Israeli conquest of Lydda (Lod) and Ramla, breaking the Arab siege of Jerusalem, and creating thousands of refugees, as well as advances in the north. During this time Israel had acquired three B-17s and some Dakotas. One of the B-17s succeeded in dropping some bombs on Cairo on its way to delivery in Israel, others bombed Damascus and Rafa.
July 10, 1948	Arab League announced the establishment of a temporary Palestinian civilian administration over Arab held-areas of Palestine, but it was never implemented
July 12, 1948	Egyptians attack Kibbutz Negba with armor and massive troop concentrations. Israelis suffer 5 dead, 16 wounded, Egyptian casualties 200- 300 dead and wounded.
July 19, 1948	Second Truce.
Sept 17, 1948	Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte, a UN mediator, was assassinated in Jerusalem, and Lehi members were suspected. The Israel government outlawed the organization's branch in Jerusalem and shut down its publication, Hamivrak. The leaders of Lehi, Natan Yellin-Mor and Mattityahu Shmuelevitz, were sentenced to long jail terms by a military court, but were released in a general amnesty. Bernadotte, who had been instrumental in saving about 21,000 Jews in WW II, was proposing to relieve Israel of the Negev and force return of the Palestinian refugees.
Sept 22, 1948	Palestinian States - AHC communiqué announces the establishment of the Government of All Palestine (APG; <i>Hukumat 'Umm al-Filastin</i>); Declaration of Independence proclaimed by Hajj Amin to Palestine National Council in Gaza (30Sept-1Oct) on 1Oct, with Hajj Amin as President of the PNC, Ahmad Hilmi 'Abd al-Baqi as PM, Jamal al-Husayni as Foreign Minister, in the Mandate territory of

	<p>Palestine, with the flag of the 1916 Arab Revolt. Jerusalem as capital, Gaza as seat of government. Recognized and sponsored by Egypt and Arab League, who sought to forestall 'Abdullah's plan to annex West Bank; strongly opposed by Jordan, who organized a much larger rival Palestinian Congress in Amman on 30Sept to support Jordan's policy in Palestine. APG issued Palestinian passports; but with Egyptian disillusionment, HQ transferred to Cairo in Oct, Hajj Amin was confined to Cairo and is & actions curtailed; many leading members left to work for Amman. Ahmad Hilmi continued to represent Palestine in the League until his death in September 63.</p>
Oct. 15, 1948	<p>Second truce ends; Israeli offensive breaks Egyptian siege of Israeli settlements in the Negev (operation Yoav). In the north, operation Hiram defeats the Arab Liberation army. IDF massacres in Eilabun, Saliba, Safsaf, Jish, Hule, Majd el-Krum, Bi'na, Dier el Assad and Arab al-Mawassa.</p>
Dec. 11, 1948	<p>UN Resolution 194 called for cessation of hostilities, return of refugees who wish to live in peace. The resolution reflected UN and US anger over the assassination of Count Bernadotte.</p>
Dec 19, 1948	<p>Israeli Operation Horev conquers Gaza and enters Sinai. Intervention by British and US forces Israel to withdraw. Israel shot down several British reconnaissance planes, apparently unarmed (four Spitfires and one Tempest) January 7, 1949.</p>
March 7-10, 1948	<p>Operation Uvda - IDF captures southern Negev including Eilat with no resistance.</p>
April 3, 1949	<p>Armistice - Israel and Arab states agree to armistice. Israel gained about 50% more territory than was originally allotted to it by the UN Partition Plan. The war created about 780,000 Palestinian refugees who fled or were evicted from Jewish held areas. Gaza fell under the jurisdiction of Egypt. The West Bank of the Jordan was occupied by Jordan and later annexed, consistent with secret agreements with the Jewish leadership made before the outbreak of hostilities.</p>
April 27 - Sept 1949	<p>Lausanne conference - Abortive Israel Arab Truce Negotiations. Minor achievements - working recognition of Israel by Arab States who attended the conference, and acceptance of UN Resolutions by both sides. However no substantive agreements were reached.</p>
July, 1951	<p>Assassination of Jordan's King Abdulla because of rumored plans for peace with Israel. His grandson Hussein was crowned in his place following the brief reign of Tallal.</p>
July 23, 1952	<p>The Free Officers (<i>al-dubbat al-ahrar</i>) movement in Egypt - aware of royal plans to remove dissidents from the army - launch a near-bloodless military coup (only 2 fatalities). Officers were nominally led Gen. Muhammad Najib (who was not involved in the coup's planning), though were organized by his deputy Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser. King Faruq forced to abdicate (26 Jul) and is exiled. A new governing authority, the Revolutionary Command Council, is established (27 Jul), and chaired by Nasser with 8 other members (11 from early 1953). Initially, a civilian administration is set up under 'Ali Mahir, but he opposed RCC plans for land redistribution (Sept 52), with compulsory purchase by the state, and so was dismissed and replaced with direct RCC control. Constitution is suspended (Dec 52), Parliament disbanded, parties banned (Jan 53, for a projected three year period of military rule), monarchy formally abolished, a republic declared & Najib is installed as President, with Nasser as deputy PM (Jun 53). Land reform ensures that the power of large landowners and royal family was broken. Press brought under State control, esp. influential Al-Ahram (later nationalized in 1960). At Nasser's urging, the nationalism of Egypt's previous government - especially its opposition to Israel and Sudan - is toned down; and Najib indicates that Egypt would participate in US/UK regional defense arrangements (10 Nov), coupled with a request for economic & military aid</p>

October 1953	IDF paratrooper unit 101 under Ariel Sharon killed 69 civilians and destroyed a great deal of property in a raid on the Jordanian village of Qibieh. The raid was a reprisal for a raid on Tirat Yehuda.
July 1954	"The Lavon Affair": Israeli government spies, seemingly without PM Sharett's knowledge, attempt to sabotage British & US property in Egypt to put blame on Egyptian terrorists, thus driving a wedge between Britain and Egypt, and postponing British evacuation of the Suez. The plan's failure leads to the fragmentation of Mapai's leadership, with recurring crises of mutual recrimination over the next decade. Ben Gurion insisted on a full investigation of the affair but was rebuffed by Lavon partisans. Defense Minister Pinhas Lavon resigns in Feb 1955. Egypt retaliated against Egyptian Jews, some of who were involved in the plot.
Nov 15, 1954	Najib dismissed as President of Egypt, after Revolutionary Command Council - alienated by his public prominence - had attempted unsuccessfully to engineer his resignation (Feb), had orchestrated pro-RCC demonstrations (25-29Mar) & had installed his main opponent, Nasser, as PM in Apr. Najib is placed under house arrest, Nasser takes over as President.
1955	Continuous incidents between Egypt and Israel/Syria, primarily in Gaza DMZ. Operation Black Arrow (Hetz Shahor) launched by Israel in Feb 1955, following Egyptian incursions, resulted in a major embarrassment for Egypt and caused Nasser to rethink his strategy with Israel.
Feb. 24, 1955	<u>Baghdad Pact</u> - Pact of Mutual Cooperation Between the Kingdom of Iraq, the Republic of Turkey, the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Pakistan, and the Kingdom of Iran (Baghdad Pact). British/US attempt to minimize Soviet incursions and protect friendly regimes. Israel feels isolated and lacking Western protection.
Dec 11, 1955	Israel launched an attack on Syria following firing on a police patrol boat possibly sent as a deliberate provocation. (Operation Olive Leaves), condemned in <u>SCR111</u> , 19 Jan 56,
April 5 1956	Increased tension between Israel & Egypt-Syria. IDF claimed 180 attacks on Israel from Gaza in past four months. Three Israelis killed April 4 when Egyptians opened fire on an Israeli patrol. Israel responded, and an artillery duel culminated in an Israeli artillery barrage at centre of Gaza City (4-5Apr) that killed 59, wounds about 100, mostly civilians. Egypt responded with increased commando raids, sending hundreds of fedayeen across the border in separate raids and killing 12 Israelis. Temporarily calmed through offices of UNS-G.
June 1956	Sharett resigns as Israeli FM (& dies.1965); Golda Meir takes over
July 1956	The US withdraws funding from the Aswan dam, USSR steps in. In response, Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal Company (26 Jul), to opposition of British (lease due to terminate in 1968). Is unanimously supported in this by the Arab League (Aug), though Iraqi leaders secretly call on the British to topple Nasser; imposition of martial law in Iraq.
Oct. 29, 1956	Suez Campaign. In retaliation for a series of escalating border raids as well as the closure of the straits of Tiran and Suez canal to Israeli shipping, and to prevent Egyptian use of newly acquired Soviet arms in a war, Israel invades the Sinai peninsula and occupies it for several months, with French and British collaboration. French and British were interested in reversing the nationalization of the canal. Israel withdraws after a UN peace keeping force is placed in Sinai, and US guarantees right of passage for Israeli shipping through the Straits of Tiran.
1957	<u>Fateh</u> founded (informally) with the aim of destroying Israel. Formal establishment about 1964.

1957 (?)	Construction of Israel nuclear breeder reactor using French technology begins in Dimona some time in the latter part of the 1950s. The French later tried to stop the program, but backed down when Israeli FM Peres said Israel would make the deal public.
Feb 1, 1958	Egypt and Syria announce merger into United Arab Republic, on Syrian communist initiative in an attempt to outbid Ba'athist call for a federal union, taken up by Syrian Ba'ath FM Salah al-Din Bitar, a Syrian military delegation had flown to Egypt for unity talks (11Jan). Nasser, unexpectedly agrees to immediate unity. Approved by legislatures on 5Feb, and parallel plebiscites on 21 Feb (which also approve Nasser as President). Armies placed under Egypt command; Syrian political parties dissolved (Mar); Syrian "province" is headed by the left Ba'athists under Akram Hurani. Large land redistribution schemes in both Syria & Iraq, on model of Egypt 1952. Egypt receives its first economic loan from USSR ((\$126 million) to promote national industries.
Nov 18, 1959	Israel abandons earlier Jordan river diversion scheme, begins work on the National Water Carrier Project, to divert the waters of the River Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to the Negev, taking its share of Jordan water in accordance with Johnston plan.
Jan 13-17 1964	First Arab summit at Cairo (the Egyptians count this as the third Arab Summit) (i.e. heads of State, instigated by Nasser) prompted by Israel's R.Jordan diversion scheme. Arabs declare their intentions of stopping the Israeli diversion scheme, which is in accordance with the Johnson plan, and decided on establishment of the PLO. A Unified Arab Command under Egyptian supervision is created. This summit and the one that followed in September caused considerable alarm in Israel, and are cited by Avi Shlaim (The Iron Wall) as the actual beginning of the 6-day war.
May, 1964	<u>PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization)</u> founded with the aim of destroying Israel. The <u>Palestinian National Charter (1968)</u> officially called for liquidation of Israel.
Sept 13, 1964	Second Arab Summit at Alexandria decides on diversion of the headwaters of the Jordan as well as strengthening regional Arab armies. Arabs declare the aim of destroying Israel. <u>Israel addressed two notes to the UN Security Council, concerning the alarming nature of the summit resolutions to destroy Israel.</u>
Sept. 18. 1965	Third Arab Summit at Casablanca. Conference draws up staged plan for combating Israel, first building up armed forces of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon over 2.5-3 yrs & refraining from war with Israel; then proceeding to war.
Nov 13, 1966	Samu' raid: Israeli troops kill 15 Jordanian soldiers and 3 civilians, & dynamite 125 houses, in <u>an attack on the frontier village of Samu' near Hebron</u> ; in response to the death of 3 Israeli soldiers by a road mine. Israel is censured by <u>SCR228 (25 Nov 66)</u> , but no military response from Amman. This leads to recriminations in the Israeli government, which had intended a smaller scale raid, and Palestinian anger & clashes with Jordanian security forces throughout West Bank, especially in Nablus where the army had to intervene. The PLO gains support.
May, 1967	Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser closes the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping and dismisses UN peacekeeping force. Negotiations with US to reopen the Straits of Tiran fail.
May 27, 1967	Nasser cancels a planned Egyptian attack on Israel, after it became obvious that the Israelis knew about the plan.
May 30, 1967	Jordan signs a defense pact with Egypt, allows Egyptian command of Jordan Legion.
June 6-11, 1967	6-day war. Following a long period of tension, Israel attacks - destroys the Egyptian air force on the ground, conquers and occupies Sinai and Gaza, then conquers the

	West Bank from Jordan, and Golan Heights from Syria. UN resolution 242 (November 1967) called for Israeli withdrawal, establishment of peace.
Oct 21, 1967	Egyptian missile ship sinks the Israeli destroyer Eilat. Israel retaliates by heavy artillery bombardment of Suez refinery complex.
March 21, 1968	Battle of Karameh - Jordanian and Palestinian forces inflicted a partial defeat on Israel troops staging a massive retaliatory raid on a Jordanian town that had served as a staging area for guerilla attacks and a base for PLO/Fatah guerillas. The Fatah declared a great victory and retreated into the hills. The anniversary of Karameh is still celebrated as a victory by Palestinians.
Jun 1968	Escalation along the Suez Canal. Egyptians violated the cease-fire repeatedly along the Suez canal. Nasser stated as strategy that Egypt could suffer numerous casualties because of manpower reserves, while Israel cannot.
Dec 1968	PFLP attack on El Al plane in Athens. One Israeli killed; Israel responds on Dec 28 with helicopter raid on Beirut International Airport. Commandos destroy 13 Arab planes and damage airport. <u>SCR262</u> of 31Dec unanimously censures Israel,
Feb 1-4, 1969	Fifth Palestine National Council (PNC) in Cairo. Fatah gains formal control with 'Arafat declared chair of Executive Committee. PNC statement sets goal of a "secular democratic state" society for Muslims, Christians & Jews.
Feb 18, 1969	PFLP attack El Al plane in Zurich; strong international condemnation.
Feb 20, 1969	PFLP bomb attacks on a Jerusalem supermarket
Feb 24, 1969	Israeli air strike against 2 al-Fatah camps near Damascus; large no of casualties. Fatah moves to strengthen its position in Jordan; PFLP becomes more explicit in its call for the overthrow of King Hussein, seen as a Western puppet.
Feb 1969	Internal struggles in Syrian Ba'ath party: Hafez al-Assad, defense minister, takes full control over military in Syria; civilian institutions left under the control of President Atasi. Former stressed pan-Arab cooperation, especially with Egypt; latter rejected cooperation with the conservative regimes, & controlled the Sa'iqa fida'i organization.
Mar 11 1969	Golda Meir becomes Prime Minister in Israel after death of Levi Eshkol.
Aug 29, 1969	Group commanded by Layla Khalid hijacks TWA plane flying to Tel Aviv.
March 1969	Hostilities along the Suez canal. Between Israel and Egypt escalate as Soviets supply SAM-2 radar and pilots, US supplies Israel with Phantom jets and Hawk missiles.
April, 23, 1969	War of attrition between Israel and Egypt - Nasser formally declares that he is no longer bound by the terms of the armistice. Constant artillery and air duels around the Suez canal, as well as IAF bombardment of Egyptian targets. US agreed with Israeli reports that Nasser was violating the cease-fire agreement and preparing for another war.
July 1970	War of attrition terminated by a cease-fire, July 1970, following pressure from USA and USSR on both sides.
Sept. 1970	"Black September"- King Hussein of Jordan moves against the increasingly menacing power of the PLO. Palestinian guerillas flee Jordan and take up residence in Lebanon.
Sept 6,	PFLP hijack Swissair, BOAC, PanAm and TWA flights and divert them to Jordan.

1970	310 passengers are held hostage and released after governments agree to release Palestinian prisoners. In the wake of the hijackings Lufthansa reportedly paid protection money to guerilla movements, and France purchased immunity for Air France by agreeing to maintain an anti-Israel policy.
Sept 28 1970	Nasser dies of cardiac arrest after negotiating Jordan-Palestinian truce; Anwar al-Sadat comes to power in Egypt.
May 30, 1972	PFLP and Japanese Red Army attack at Lod Airport killed 27.
Sept 5, 1972	Black September movement massacres Israeli Olympic team in Munich, triggering a systematic manhunt by Israelis for the assassins.
Oct. 6, 1973	Yom Kippur War (October War) In a surprise attack on the Jewish day of atonement, Egypt retook the Suez canal and a narrow zone on the other side. Syria reconquered the Golan Heights. Following massive US and Soviet resupplying of the sides, Israel succeeded in pushing back the Syrians and threatening Damascus. Ariel Sharon crossed the Suez Canal and cut off the Egyptian Third Army.
Oct. 22, 1973	<u>UN Security Council Resolution 338</u> called for cease-fire and negotiations for peace. Following the cease-fire, Israel withdrew from part of Sinai in stages, beginning with relief of the Egyptian third army, and likewise withdrew from a small part of the Golan heights.
Dec - 21- 29 1973	Middle East Peace Conference convened in Geneva, with Jordan, Egypt, SU, US & Israel attending (Syria refused). First objective is the disengagement of forces.
Jan 18 1974	<u>Egypt-Israel Separation of Forces Agreement</u> (Sinai I), opposed by Syria. UN Emergency Force takes up positions in the buffer zones established in Sinai; fully deployed by Mar. 3.
April 10, 1974	Golda Meir resigns as PM of Israel following popular protest over the Yom Kippur War. Yitzhak Rabin, former Chief of Staff of IDF and ambassador to US takes her place.
April 11 1974/	Kiriat Shmona Massacre - PFLP-GC takes dozens of teenagers hostage in Qiryat Shmona, Israel, to demand the release of prisoners. IDF storms the building, but terrorists kill 19. Israeli reprisal raids on Southern Lebanon condemned by UN Security Council in <u>SCR347</u> on April 24.
May 15, 1974	Ma'alot Massacre - PLO (PDFLP) gunmen took over a school in the northern Israeli village of Ma'alot, demand release of prisoners, killing 25 and wounding many others.
May 31, 1974	<u>Syria-Israel disengagement agreement</u> over the Golan, with Syria accepting <u>SCR 338</u> (& thus <u>242</u>) as a basis for peace, & Israel partially withdrawing to establish a demilitarized zone, with UN Disengagement Observer Force separating parties. Israel withdrew from Quneitra on 26 June, but Syria did not rebuild or repopulate the town.
June 1974	<u>Twelfth Palestine National Council resolves</u> that "the PLO will struggle by every means ... to liberate Palestinian land & establish the people's national, independent ad fighting authority on every part of Palestinian land to be liberated." Israelis interpret this as staged liberation of Palestine. However, this was also widely portrayed later as meaning that a State in part of Palestine was acceptable to the PLO, eventually causing PFLP (George Habash) to leave the PLO on Sept. 26, forming the "refusal front." PFLP rejoined the PLO in 1980.
Oct 29, 1974	Rabat Summit - Arab League summit in Rabat declares that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This makes it more difficult for

	Israel to conclude a peace treaty with Jordan on the basis of return of the West Bank. Hussein declares that he is no longer empowered to act for the Palestinians, and prevents possibility of negotiation with local Palestinians.
Nov 13 1974	Arafat <u>speaks</u> at UN General Assembly debate on Palestine, on invitation of Oct 14 (GAR3210; vote: 105-4), with his pistol showing. UNGA recognizes Palestinians' right to sovereignty (GAR3236) and grants PLO observer status (GAR3237; 22Nov).
November 1975	<u>UN Resolution 3379</u> equates Zionism with racism.
May 31, 1976	Syria is invited into Lebanon by Maronite Christians.
June-July 1976	Palestinians hijacked an Air-France Air bus to Entebbe in Uganda. IDF commando units landed in Uganda, storm the plane and free most of the hostages.
June 20, 1977	Likud party and Begin government took office in Israel. Israeli settlement of the West Bank and Gaza was intensified following the rise of the Likud to power.
Nov. 20, 1977	Egyptian President Anwar Sadat came to Jerusalem, spoke in Israeli Knesset (Parliament).
Mar. 15, 1978	Israel invaded Lebanon (operation Litani) after the PLO hijacked a bus on the main Tel-Aviv to Haifa highway. UN resolution 425 of March 19, 1978 called for withdrawal of Israeli forces. Israel did not fulfill the terms of Resolution 425 until May 2000.
Sept. 17, 1978	Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli PM Menachem Begin, meeting at Camp David under the auspices of US President Jimmy Carter, sign <u>framework agreements</u> for peace in the Middle East and peace between Egypt and Israel.
March 26, 1979	<u>Peace treaty signed</u> between Egypt and Israel.
June 7, 1981	Israel destroys Iraqi nuclear reactor in daring raid.
Oct. 6, 1981	Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is assassinated while on the reviewing stand of a victory parade.
April 29, 1982	Israel completes return of Sinai to Egypt under the peace agreement, including Yamit settlement.
June 3, 1982	Attempted assassination of Israeli Ambassador Shlomo Argov in London apparently by Abu Nidal faction, backed by Iraq. Large scale bombings by Israel in Lebanon especially on W.Beirut (4Jun). PLO send First rockets at towns in N Israel since Jul 81.
June 6, 1982	Massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon to fight PLO. . UN Security Council Resolution 509 demands that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith, but Israel advances rapidly to Beirut, surrounding the capital by 13 Jun. Israeli cabinet is split on the sudden expansion of the war, beyond the 40 KM limit originally declared by Sharon.
June 9, 1982	Syrian Soviet SAM radar destroyed by Israel, Israeli-Syrian armor engagements.
Summer, 1982	Foundation of the Lebanese Shi'ite Hizbulla Islamist terror group.
Aug. 22, - 1982	PLO evacuation of Beirut. About 14,000 leave. PLO headquarters in Tunis. Evacuation complete Sept 1.

Aug 23, 1982	Bashir Jemayeel made President of Lebanon.
Sept. 14, 1982	Lebanese President Bashir Jemayeel assassinated, apparently by Syrian intelligence. Amin Jemayeel elected instead.
Sept. 15, 1982	Israeli invasion of West Beirut
Sept. 16-17, 1982	Lebanese Christian Phalange units, allowed by Israeli forces to enter the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla, massacre between 400 and 800 Palestinian civilians.
24 Sept	Peace Now movement holds record demonstration in Israel (~300,000), demanding end to war, commission of inquiry for Sabra and Shatilla
Nov 11, 1982	Israeli military headquarters in Tyre destroyed in an explosion, killing 75 Israelis and 16 of their prisoners.
Feb 8, 1983	Israeli Kahan commission found Ariel Sharon and others indirectly responsible for allowing the massacre in Sabra and Shatilla.
April 18, 1983	Hizbulla suicide bomber destroyed the American Embassy in Beirut, killing over 60 people.
Sept.3, 1983	Israel began partial withdrawal from Lebanon.
Oct. 23, 1983	Hizbulla suicide bomber destroyed the US Marine compound in Beirut, killing 241.
Sept. 20, 1984	Hizbulla suicide bomber destroyed the rebuilt American Embassy in Beirut, killing 25.
June 1985	Israel unity government, headed by Shimon Peres, orders withdrawal from most of conquered Lebanese territory.
Dec 8, 1987	First Intifadeh - Stone-throwing Palestinian teens led by local groups took on the Israeli occupation, attacking Israeli soldiers relentlessly. The triggering incident may have been the death of four Palestinian workers in a road accident with an Israeli vehicle.
Jan. 1988	Foundation of the <u>Hamas Islamic Brotherhood</u> . Hamas published their <u>Charter in August 1988</u> , based on the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and advocating destruction of Israel.
Nov. 15, 1988	Palestine National Council of the PLO declare a Palestinian state in absentia - See <u>Palestinian Declaration of Independence</u>
May 14, 1989	<u>Israeli Peace Plan of May 14, 1989</u> , calls for a negotiating process with the Palestinians very similar to the one actually implemented by the Oslo accords.
August 1990	Iraq invades and conquers Kuwait.
January, 1991	"Operation Desert Storm" (called "Gulf War" in US). Iraqi missiles fall on Israel as US pushes Iraqi forces out of Kuwait. Palestinians support Saddam Hussein, lose popularity in Gulf states.
Oct 30, 1991	<u>Madrid Peace Conference</u> for peaceful resolution of the Middle East Conflict.
June 23, 1992	Labor party leader and former General Yitzhak Rabin, elected Prime Minister of

	Israel
Sept. 13, 1993	<u>Oslo Declaration of Principles</u> - Israel and PLO agree to mutual recognition, Yasser Arafat and PLO will be allowed to return to Gaza. PLO and Palestinian leadership renounce violence and use of terrorism, and agree to revise the PLO charter to remove chapters referring to destruction of Israel. Over the next, years, Israel withdraws from a small area (Area A) that is given to Palestinian sovereignty, a larger area (Area B) is given to Palestinian civil control only, while a third area of the West Bank and Gaza strip remains under total Israeli control. Israel does not dismantle any settlements, and the number of settlers and new settlements increases considerably.
Feb 25, 1994	Settler Baruch Goldstein opens fire on Muslims praying in the Tomb of Abraham mosque in Hebron, killing 30. This massacre formed the excuse for numerous terrorist acts by Hamas and other groups. Following the bombing, the Israel government placed restrictions on Hebron's Arab population and closed the Tomb to visitors for an extended period. Goldstein's grave became a shrine for right-wing settlers. The Israeli government in 2,000 dismantled the shrine.
April, 1994	Hamas carries out suicide bombings in Israeli towns of Afula and Hadera, killing 13, wounding 80.
May 1994	Yasser Arafat arrives in Gaza.
Oct 19, 1994	Hamas suicide bombing on a Tel Aviv bus kills 22, wounds 40.
July 24, 1994	Hamas suicide bomber blows up a Dan bus in Tel Aviv.
Oct. 26, 1994	Peace treaty between Jordan and Israel.
Nov. 4, 1995	Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin assassinated by right-wing Israeli fanatic Yigal Amir.
Jan 5, 1996	Israeli security service assassinates Palestinian terrorist Yihyeh Ayash, "The Engineer," responsible for the death of over 60 Israelis. Ayash was lionized by Palestinians as a martyr and the PNA named a square after him in Jericho.
Feb. 25, 1996	Hamas suicide bomber blows up a No. 18 bus near Jerusalem's central bus station, killing 26 people and wounding 48 others. Less than an hour later, a second Hamas suicide bomb explodes at a soldiers' hitchhiking station near Ashkelon, killing one and injuring 31 others. The two attacks are said to be in retaliation for the slaying in Gaza of Yehiya Ayash.
March 3, 1996	A Hamas suicide bomber blows up a bus on Jerusalem's Jaffa Road, killing 19 people and leaving at least 9 wounded. The attack takes place on the same No. 18 bus line and almost at the same time as the previous week's attack.
March 4, 1996	Dizengoff Center Bombing - A suicide bomb is detonated in Tel Aviv's Dizengoff Center, killing 13, including children, and wounding at least 130 on the eve of Purim (anniversary of Goldstein massacre). Hamas claims responsibility.
June, 1996	Right-Wing Likud leader Benjamin Nethanyahu elected Prime Minister in Israel, replacing Shimon Peres.
Sept, 1996	"Al-Aksa tunnel riots - Arab sources spread the false rumor that a gate opened in an underground tunnel tourist attraction by the Israeli government, endangered the foundations of the Al-Aqsa mosque. This caused several days of rioting and numerous casualties.
Jan 18,	Israel and Palestinians reach agreement on Israeli redeployment in the West-Bank

1997	city of Hebron
March 21, 1997	Cafe Apropos Bombing - A Hamas suicide bomber detonates an explosion at the Cafe Apropos in central Tel Aviv, killing 3 Israelis and wounding 47 others.
July 30, 1997	Two suicide bombers strike in the Mahane Yehuda open-air market in Jerusalem, claiming at least 12 victims and wounding at least 150 others. Hamas and Islamic Jihad claim responsibility.
Sept, 1997	Israeli agents bungled an attempt to kill Hamas terrorist leader Khald Mashaal in Jordan (Sept 26). To placate Jordanian public opinion, Israel subsequently released Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin from jail.
Oct. 1998	<u>Wye River Plantation talks result in an agreement</u> for Israeli redeployment and release of political prisoners and renewed Palestinian commitment to correct its violations of the Oslo accords including excess police force, illegal arms and incitement in public media and education.
May 17, 1999	Israel elects Labor party leader and Former General Ehud Barak as Prime Minister in a landslide. Barak promises rapid progress toward peace.
May 2000	Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon to international border is completed after many years of harassment by Hizbullah guerillas. UN declares Israel is compliant with <u>Resolution 425</u> , but the Hizbullah continues to harass Israeli positions, kidnapping three Israeli soldiers later in the summer.
July, 2000	Israeli PM Barak, US President Clinton and Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat meet at <u>Camp David</u> in a failed attempt to hammer out a final settlement.
Sept. 28, 2000	Palestinians initiated riots after Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount, which is also the location of the Haram as Sharif holy to Muslims. Violence was apparently encouraged by Fatah Tanzim, as admitted by Marwan Barghouti. Violence escalated rapidly from rock throwing to machine gun and mortar fire, suicide bombings and lethal road ambushes, including some incidents instigated by settlers against Palestinians. Israelis killed 15 Israeli Arabs in riots in September/October 2000, and over 2,000 Palestinians in retaliatory raids thereafter. Palestinians kill over 700 Israelis. Violence continues for over a year [to present - March 2003].
Dec, 2000	Talks begun at <u>Taba</u> continuing to January 2001 in different venues, end inconclusively.
Feb 6, 2001	Right-wing Likud leader Ariel Sharon elected Prime Minister in Israel replacing Ehud Barak and promising "peace and security."
April, 2001	<u>Mitchell commission</u> recommendations for restoration of peace return to the negotiating table.
June 1, 2001	Dolphinarium Discotheque in Tel Aviv hit by suicide bomb, killing 20, including many teenagers. Islamic Jihad and Palestine Hizbulla both claim the bombing.
August 9, 2001	Sbarro pizzeria suicide bombing in Jerusalem by Islamic Jihad movement kills 15, wounds 130.
Aug 27, 2001	Israel assassinates Abu Ali Mustafa, Secretary General of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine)
Sept. 11, 2001	Terror attacks on World Trade Center in NYC and the Pentagon carried out by fanatic Islamic Al-Qaeda group headed by <u>Osama Bin Laden</u> . Initiates US war on terror. Israel and Palestinians agree to cease fire, but it is not implemented.

Oct., 17, 2001	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine assassinates Israeli tourism minister Rehav'am Ze'evi, known for extreme right-wing views, in retaliation for killing of Abu Ali Mustafa. After Palestine National Authority refuses to take effective action, Israeli troops enter Palestinian areas in the West Bank
Jan 3, 2002	Israel captures Karine-A carrying a boatload of illegal arms bound for Palestinian Authority as US envoy Anthony Zinni arrives to try to mediate a settlement.
March 2002	Midst mounting violence, Saudi Prince Abdullah announces a peace plan, according to which Israel would withdraw from the occupied territories in return for Arab recognition.
March-April 2002	In retaliation for a series of suicide bombings, Israel mounts operation "Defensive Wall" in the West Bank, arrests Palestinian leaders and particularly Marwan Barghouti, imprisoning PNA Chairman Arafat in the "Mukata" compound in Ramalah and besieges militants in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. During the operation, about 50 people, including at least some civilians, were killed in the Jenin refugee camp, prompting charges of a massacre by Palestinians. A proposed UN investigation of the alleged massacres is abandoned after Israel refuses to cooperate. From objective reports, it appears that about 22 noncombatant civilians were killed in Jenin, either wrongfully and intentionally by Israeli troops, or when bulldozers crushed houses in the belief they were empty, or when booby-trapped houses exploded and fell in on their occupants.
May 2002	End of sieges in Mukata; Church of Nativity. Militants in church of nativity exiled abroad. Wanted men in Mukata jailed in Jericho. Head of PFLP allegedly coordinated a suicide attack from his cell in Jericho.
May 30, 2002	PNA Chairman Arafat, under pressure for reform, signs the <u>2002: PNA Basic Law</u> that was passed several years ago by the PLC.
June 24, 2002	Controversial <u>speech by US President Bush</u> calls for Israeli withdrawal and Palestinian state, but insists the PNA must first be reformed and current leaders replaced. Israel moves to reoccupy the entire West Bank, with the exception of Jericho.
July 23 2002	Israel assassinates Saleh Shehadeh, head of Hamas Izzeldin-El Kassam armed brigades responsible for numerous terror attacks.
Aug 16(?), 2002	Sabri Banna (Abu Nidal), head of the Fatah Revolutionary Council is rumored dead by assassination or suicide in Baghdad (Death is later confirmed - apparently assassinated by Iraqi secret police).
Oct, 2002	Libya withdraws from Arab League.
Nov 3, 2002	Israel government unstable as resignations of Labor party ministers become official.
Jan, 2003	Cairo conference of Palestinian groups, first in 20 years. Conference fails to agree on cease-fire offer to Israel. Islamist movements say PLO no longer represents the Palestinian people.
Jan 5, 2003	Double suicide bombing in Tel Aviv kills 23, prompting increased action of IDF against Hamas.
Jan 28, 2003	Elections in Israel give wide margin (40 seats) to right wing Likud party, returning PM Ariel Sharon for another term.
Feb, 2003	Israel initiates a series of incursions in the Gaza strip and Nablus with numerous civilian casualties beginning at the end of February.

Mar 5, 2003	Hamas suicide bombing of Haifa bus kills 17. Qassam rocket fire from Gaza on Sderot brings Israeli reoccupation of parts of Gaza around Jebalya refugee camp.
March 6, 2003	Kassam rocket fire from Gaza on Sderot brings Israeli reoccupation of parts of Gaza around Jebalya refugee camp.
March 7, 2003	UNMOVIC chief Hans Blix reports to UN on Iraqi disarmament progress.
March 10, 2003	Central Council of the PLO meets in Ramalla and approves Chairman Arafat's proposal to nominate a Prime Minister. His nominee, Abu Mazen is also approved. The Council also condemns violence against all civilians. The appointment of a PM is due to Israeli and US pressure to reform the PNA and provide leadership other than Arafat, who is considered untrustworthy.
March 19, 2003	US begins invasion of Iraq by a strike against a building where Saddam Hussein and other leaders are meeting.
April 9, 2003	Fall of Baghdad.
April 24, 2003	Bowing to international pressure, Yasser Arafat allows the nomination of Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) as new Palestinian PM. The Quartet (US, Britain, Russia and Spain) hopes that he will institute reforms. Israeli government backs Abu-Mazen, promises concessions.
April 29, 2003	<u>Abu Mazen elected & vows reform</u> , but Arafat maneuvers to retain control. Violence continues. US released updated <u>road map on April 30</u>

<http://www.mideastweb.org/mideast/timeline>